

THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE  
HOMILIES OF GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS  
PARIS GR. 510

A STUDY OF THE CONNECTIONS  
BETWEEN TEXT AND IMAGES

SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

THE ninth-century manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, gr. 510, is one of the outstanding examples of Byzantine miniature painting and a key monument for the art of the early Macedonian period.<sup>1</sup> The style of the paintings and the iconography of the gospel scenes have frequently been discussed; the historical scenes and their possible relation to Early Christian and Byzantine chronicles have been specially considered.<sup>2</sup> But no serious attempt has been made to discover the connection of the illustration, as a whole, with the text, the general opinion being that in many instances such a connection either does not exist or is extremely tenuous.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this article is to show that, on the contrary, the relation between the images and the homilies is very real and profound, and that the miniatures tend to illustrate the principal ideas set forth by Gregory.

Before undertaking this study, a few words should be said about the portraits of Basil I, of his wife Eudocia, and of their sons Leo and Alexander which appear at the beginning of the manuscript. Since Basil's eldest son Constantine, who died in 879, has not been represented, the manuscript has been dated between the years 880 and 886, the date of Basil's death. But this span of years can be narrowed still further. We know from the anonymous life of Theophano, probably written by a contemporary, that the Empress Eudocia died shortly after the marriage of her son Leo to Theophano, which was celebrated in the winter of 882–883;<sup>4</sup> consequently the manuscript must have been illustrated between 880 and 883.

<sup>1</sup> H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1929), pls. xv–lx.

<sup>2</sup> The principal studies are: N. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1891), 2, pp. 57–75. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1916), see Index, p. 510. C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *The Art Bulletin*, XI (1929), pp. 92–97. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 2–5. K. Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion*, XVI (1942–1943), pp. 87–134.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bordier (*Description des peintures et autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* [Paris, 1883], pp. 62–89) repeatedly stated that he found no allusion to the scenes that were represented and did not see their connection with the text. Kondakoff was of the same opinion, although in a few instances he attempted to explain the choice of the miniatures. He wrote: "En les étudiant de près, on s'aperçoit aussitôt que l'artiste a très faiblement traduit les pensées contenues dans les sermons et, qu'au contraire, il a dépensé beaucoup trop de talent dans les scènes purement décoratives toujours vides de sens" (*op. cit.*, p. 59). In his chapter in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1920), I, 1, p. 240, G. Millet made a clearer distinction between the different categories of miniatures: "Le lien de l'illustration et du texte n'est pas toujours facile à saisir. C'est tantôt le sujet même du sermon, tantôt l'événement ou la fête qui l'a provoqué, le plus souvent de simples allusions noyées dans le développement, allusions directes à l'Ancien Testament, allusions symboliques, saisies par le souci toujours présent de la concordance, aux événements et aux mystères du Nouveau."

<sup>4</sup> Eduard Kurtz, "Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.," *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 8th ser., III, no. 2 (1898), p. 6 and p. 53, note 9. Kurtz dates Leo's marriage in 881–882, but I have followed the date given by V. Grumel, "La chronologie des événements du règne de Léon VI.," *Echos d'Orient*, 39 (1936), p. 27. Grumel states (p. 28) that the date of Eudocia's death is not known, but that it occurred some time between Leo's marriage and his imprisonment in April–July 886. The words ἡ νέα νύμφη, however, used by the anonymous biographer to designate Theophano (Kurtz, p. 7, line 7), clearly indicate a newly married bride and afford a reason for dating Eudocia's death in 882–883.



The first gathering, consisting of three folios, is incomplete and the order seems to have been disturbed when the manuscript was rebound in 1602.<sup>5</sup> Folio A, with the badly damaged image of Christ enthroned painted on the verso, is a single leaf, and the stub of the other half of the conjugate leaf, which has been cut off, is pasted to folio C. The conjugate leaves B–C are decorated with the portraits of Eudocia and her two sons (B recto) facing the enthroned Christ; there are two large crosses on folios B verso and C recto, and the portrait of Basil is on folio C verso.<sup>6</sup> Thus the effigy of the Empress precedes that of the Emperor, which, even if we were to suppose that the manuscript was written for Eudocia rather than for Basil, is contrary to Byzantine usage; we may wonder, therefore, if the conjugate leaf B–C was not folded backward at the time of the rebinding. If that was the case, the restored original order would give us, on two facing pages, first Basil, then Eudocia; as for the two crosses, one would face the image of Christ and the other the lost miniature, which perhaps represented the Virgin enthroned as a pendant to Christ enthroned. Such an order can be found in the tenth-century Bible of the Vatican, Regin. gr. 1, where we have: fol. 2, a large ornate cross; fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, the patrikios Leo kneeling before the Virgin; fol. 3, the cathegoumenos Macar and the protospatharios Constantine kneeling before Saint Nicholas; fol. 3<sup>v</sup>, a large ornate cross;<sup>7</sup> that is, as in the proposed order of the Paris manuscript, donor portraits facing one another, preceded and followed by large crosses.

A change had already taken place while the manuscript was being illustrated. Under the flaked gold background of the cross on folio B<sup>v</sup>, one can see parts of a preliminary sketch for the portrait of Basil I.<sup>8</sup> Thanks to the great kindness of Mr. Jean Porcher, Conservateur en chef du Cabinet des Manuscrits, I was able to examine these pages closely and to note the differences between the sketch and the painted portrait on folio C<sup>v</sup>.<sup>9</sup> As in the latter, Basil stood between the archangel and another figure, probably the prophet Elijah, but, while in the finished painting the Emperor is crowned by Michael and the prophet presents the labarum, in the sketch the crown, held by both the prophet and the archangel, was placed jointly by them on the Emperor's head and I could see no trace of a labarum.

From the point of view of the illustrations, the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus can be divided into the three following groups.

1. Panegyrics, such as the sermons on Saint Cyprian or the Maccabees; funeral orations like that on Saint Basil; sermons with a historical content, for instance those that are directed against Julian the Apostate or that recount the persecution of the Orthodox by the Arians. For all of these we have narrative compositions representing the events that are recalled by Gregory; they present no special problems, so far as an interpretation is concerned, and I shall not, therefore, discuss them.

<sup>5</sup> The binding stamped with the arms of Henri IV bears the date 1602: Omont, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. xv–xix.

<sup>7</sup> *Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. regin. greco 1 e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. greco 381*. Collezione paleografica vaticana, fasc. 1 (Milan, 1905), pls. 3–6.

<sup>8</sup> H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xvii.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. xix.

2. Homilies delivered on important feast days, for instance on Pentecost, or on the occasion of specific events, such as the plague of hail that had ruined the crops of the people of Nazianzus. The illustrations of these orations consist either in well-known gospel scenes or subjects that could be easily represented; I shall consider only those cases in which the miniatures either do not show what would be the obvious scene or add significant episodes which are not mentioned in the text.

3. Theological and moral orations and those that relate to Gregory himself; his reluctance to accept the priesthood, his flight, his return. For our purpose this is by far the most important group since these sermons do not easily lend themselves to illustration, and it is through an examination of their miniatures that we can best understand the intent of the artist or rather of those who guided him.

The miniatures that are placed as a frontispiece to the Funeral Oration of Gregory's father differ from those of the other homilies in the first group, for they combine narrative and symbolic scenes and are an excellent example of the type of illustration characteristic of this manuscript. The elder Gregory belonged to a sect called Hypsistarii and was converted to Orthodoxy late in life. "For the salvation of my father," says Gregory, "there was a concurrence of the gradual conviction of his reason and the vision of dreams which God often bestows upon a soul worthy of salvation. What was the vision? This is to me the most pleasing part of the story. He thought that he was singing, as he had never done before, though his wife was frequent in her supplications and prayers, this verse from the psalm of holy David: I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord."<sup>10</sup> Upon awakening he told his wife of his dream, he confessed his desire for conversion to the metropolitan Leontius and to other bishops who were accompanying him to Nicaea, and he was accepted among the catechumens and baptized. "And as he was ascending out of the water, there flashed around him a light and a glory worthy of the disposition with which he approached the gift of faith. . . . To the baptizer and initiator. . . it [the light] was so clear and visible that he could not even hold back the mystery, but publicly cried out that he was anointing with the Spirit his own successor."<sup>11</sup> Gregory then recalls some of those to whom God manifested Himself—Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Paul—and after exclaiming, "Why need I count up all those who have been called to Himself by God and associated with such wonders as confirmed them in his piety?" he proceeds with the account of his father's life, insisting on his piety and his faithfulness to the orthodox doctrine which he defended with great courage against the Arian emperor.

Of all the events recalled by Gregory, the illustrator of the Paris manuscript has retained only those which refer to the conversion of Gregory's father: his dream which he relates to his wife, his instruction and baptism by the bishop; and with the use of a circular white line the illustrator has called attention to

<sup>10</sup> PG 35, cols. 1000 A-1001 B. *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., VII (Michigan, 1955), p. 258. (Hereafter designated as NPNF).

<sup>11</sup> NPNF, p. 259.

the light that flashed around Gregory as he was being baptized (fig. 1). This emphasis on the conversion of the elder Gregory and the miraculous signs which accompanied it, sharply differentiate the narrative scenes of the Paris manuscript from the illustrations of the ninth-century codex of Milan<sup>12</sup> and help us to see the relation between these narrative scenes and the ones depicted on the upper part of the page. In the first register we have the calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew, James and John, and Matthew; in the second, from right to left, the calling of Philip, combined with Christ speaking to Nathanael (John 7:43-51); and Jesus speaking to the rich young man in the presence of Philip. These gospel scenes, which precede the conversion of Gregory's father, are intended to show that, like the apostles, Gregory was also "called to Himself by God." The reasons for including the conversation between Jesus and the rich young man are less clear. Perhaps this scene was added by way of contrast between those who, as Peter exclaimed, had left everything and followed Jesus, and the rich men for whom it would be difficult to enter the kingdom of heaven.<sup>13</sup>

The illustrations of two of the Festal Orations are also particularly important in helping us to reach a better understanding of the aims and interests of the artist. The miniature which accompanied the first oration for the feast of Epiphany or "the Holy Lights" is lost; it is probable that it represented the Baptism of Christ in the river Jordan, the scene chosen for this homily in the manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus of a later date.<sup>14</sup> In the oration "On Holy Baptism," preached on the following day, Gregory spoke of the spiritual effects of the sacrament of baptism. He explains what is meant by "God is light, a second light is the angel . . . , a third light is man," and he adds, "Light was also the first-born commandment given to the first-born man . . . and a Light typical and proportionate to those who were its subjects was the written law, adumbrating the truth and the sacrament of the great Light, for Moses' face was made glorious by it. And to mention more Lights—it was Light that appeared out of Fire to Moses, when it burned the bush indeed, but did not consume it. . . . And it was Light that was in the pillar of fire that led Israel and tamed the wilderness. It was Light that carried up Elias in the car of fire. . . . It was light that shone round the Shepherds. . . . It was Light that was the beauty of the Star that went before to Bethlehem to guide the Wise Men's way. . . . Light was that Godhead which was shewn upon the Mount to the disciples. . . . Light was that Vision which blazed out upon Paul, and by wounding his eyes healed the darkness of his soul. . . . Light beside these in a special sense

<sup>12</sup> A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne (Ambrosianus 49-50)* (Paris, 1943), pls. xvi. 1-2, xvii-xxi. 2. This detailed cycle of fifteen miniatures does not include the scenes of the conversion and baptism of Gregory's father. Saint Paul standing with a book in his hand, and Isaiah seated, his head raised perhaps to the Hand of God (a small area of the vellum leaf has been cut out) are painted next to the lines in which they are mentioned (pl. xvi. 1, pl. xvii. 1). With the exception of the standing figures of James and John, and the Stoning of Stephen (pl. xvii. 2), all the other miniatures refer to incidents in the life of the elder Gregory, but no unifying idea can be detected in the choice of these scenes.

<sup>13</sup> Matt. 19:16-30; Mark 10:17-31; Luke 18:18-30.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, H. Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. cxii. 1, cxvi. 9, cxxiii. 1.

is the illumination of Baptism of which we are now speaking; for it contains a great and marvellous sacrament of our salvation."<sup>15</sup>

Four of the scenes alluded to in this passage appear in the illustrations: Moses before the burning bush; Paul on the way to Damascus blinded by the light descending from the medallion with the image of Christ; Elijah carried up to heaven; the Isrealites guided by the pillar of fire, which has been combined with the Passage of the Red Sea (fig. 2). It is not by chance that these scenes, rather than any of the others alluded to in the homily, have been selected as typological illustrations of the Baptism, for they are recalled in the services of the Byzantine church and also frequently in the exegeses of the gospel. Two of the biblical texts read during the Great Vespers on January 6 recount the Passage of the Red Sea and Elijah's ascension to heaven; and the fourth ode sung at Matins recalls the miracle of the burning bush.<sup>16</sup> The Passage of the Red Sea is represented together with the column of light which guided the people of Israel in the desert, not only because this is usually done in Byzantine iconography, but because it is one of the "types" of the Baptism commonly cited by Christian writers.<sup>17</sup> This symbolism originated with Saint Paul who wrote in his first Epistle to the Corinthians: "our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (10: 1-2). This passage is read during the services of the blessing of the waters, and the hymns constantly refer to this biblical event as a figure of the marvel of divine baptism.<sup>18</sup>

Thus the scenes selected by the artist are the very ones which were familiar to him through the liturgy as symbols and prefigurations of Christ's Baptism. Whether or not the actual event had been represented for the first homily, for the second the painter preferred symbolical images.

The second oration on Easter begins with these words. "I will stand upon my watch, saith the venerable Habakkuk; and I will take my post beside him today. . . . Well, I have taken my stand, and looked forth; and behold a man riding on the clouds and he is very high, and his countenance is as the countenance of an Angel, and his vesture as the brightness of piercing lightning; and he lifts his hand toward the East, and cries with a loud voice. His voice is the voice of a trumpet; and round about Him is, as it were, a multitude of the Heavenly Host; and he saith, 'Today is salvation come into the world, to that which is visible, and to that which is invisible. Christ is risen from the dead, rise ye with Him. Christ is returned again to Himself, return ye.' . . . Thus he speaks; and the rest sing out, as they did before when Christ was manifested to us by His birth on earth, their glory to God in the highest, on earth, peace, goodwill among men. And with them I also utter the same words among you."<sup>19</sup> Gregory then proceeds to explain allegorically the circumstances of the Jewish Passover,

<sup>15</sup> PG 36, cols. 364 D-365 B; NPNF p. 361.

<sup>16</sup> Exodus 14: 15-18, 21-23, 27-29; II Kings 2: 6-14; cf. E. Mercenier, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, 2nd. ed. (Chevetogne, 1953), II 1, pp. 264-267, and 294.

<sup>17</sup> J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie* (Paris, 1951), pp. 119-135.

<sup>18</sup> Mercenier, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 283, 292, 294, 297-298.

<sup>19</sup> PG 36, col. 624 A-B; NPNF, pp. 422-423.

"the mysteries sketched by the Law, and fulfilled by Christ... who by His Passion taught us how to suffer, and by His glorification grants us to be glorified with Him."<sup>20</sup>

The beautiful composition created for this oration is, in its major parts, a faithful image of the opening paragraph (fig. 3). Gregory has taken his watch and looks toward the celestial vision pointed to him by the prophet Habakkuk, represented as a young man, in accordance with the current iconographic type. In the starlit sky above the clouds, in the midst of the angelic host, a youthful, winged figure stands in a mandorla; he raises his hand toward the East and the words he utters, Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ, are written on the frame above his head.<sup>21</sup> This scene can also be interpreted as a symbolic image of the Resurrection, for although the "angel" does not have a cross nimbus as in other representations of Christos-angelos, he stands in the mandorla of light reserved for divine apparitions. This interpretation appears clearly in a twelfth-century manuscript of the Homilies, Paris. gr. 550, where Habakkuk and Gregory point to Christ enthroned in a mandorla and surrounded by the angelic host.<sup>22</sup>

To this symbolic scene of the Resurrection the ninth-century painter has added two figures which also symbolically recall Christ's Crucifixion and Burial. In the foreground of the composition, opposite Habakkuk and Gregory, stand two female figures. The first is Saint Paraskeve, the allegorical figure of Good Friday, who carries the instruments of the Passion—the lance, the sponge, the nails and the recipient which held the vinegar mixed with gall. Next to her is Saint Helena, dressed in the rich costume of the Byzantine empresses; she holds with both hands the model of the Rock of Golgotha with an opening at the base showing the grotto in which she discovered the True Cross.<sup>23</sup>

As in the preceding miniature, we have here a composition which goes beyond the factual representation of the words of the homily, though these doubtless served as a point of departure, and which seeks to render the deeper meaning of the oration. This approach also characterizes the illustrations of many of the theological and moral sermons.

The "Discourse against the Eunomians" serves as an introduction to the four theological orations: one on God, two on the Son, and the last on the Holy Spirit; I shall begin with these for they help us to understand the scenes which the painter has selected as illustrations for the preliminary Discourse. The miniatures of the first oration on the Son, and of the oration on the Holy Spirit

<sup>20</sup> PG 36, col. 652 D; NPNF, p. 431.

<sup>21</sup> These words are repeated in the hirmos of the fourth ode of the canon composed by John of Damascus which is sung during Matins on Easter Sunday: Mercenier, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

<sup>22</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. CVIII. 1. In the manuscript of Mount Sinai no. 339, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>, Christ enthroned in a mandorla from which project the four *Zodia*, and Gregory and Habakkuk, standing below, fill the headpiece. The same subject, repeated in the margin, recalls part of the composition of the Paris manuscript: above, the angel in an oval mandorla surrounded by the angelic host; below, Gregory and Habakkuk. In the eleventh-century manuscript of the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, cod. Τάφου 14, fol. 6, Christ and two angels stand in the mandorla, Gregory points to the vision, Habakkuk turns to gaze upon it. William H. P. Hatch, *Greek and Syrian Miniatures in Jerusalem* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pl. III.

<sup>23</sup> A. Grabar, *Martyrium, Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris, 1946), 2, p. 204.

are lost and we now have only those which accompany the oration on God and the second oration on the Son.

In the *de Deo* Gregory explains that even the most exalted human reason cannot fully grasp the nature of God. Some of the just men of old possessed a degree of knowledge; but never the full knowledge of God. Such were Noah and Abraham, who "offered a strange victim, the type of the Great Sacrifice. Yet he saw not God as God, but gave Him food as a man. . . . And Jacob dreamed of a lofty ladder and stair of angels, and in a mystery anointed a pillar—perhaps to signify the Rock that was anointed for our sake—and gave to a place the name of the House of God in honour of Him whom he saw; and wrestled with God in human form; whatever this wrestling of God with man may mean. . . . possibly it refers to the comparison of man's virtue with God's. . . ; and for a reward of his reverence he received a change of his name; being named, instead of Jacob, Israel—that great and honourable name."<sup>24</sup> Gregory further develops his idea with references to Elias, to the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, and to Paul who was permitted to utter what the Third Heavens contained.

In the frontispiece of this oration we see the Sacrifice of Abraham, Jacob's vision of the ladder and his struggle with the angel—alluded to by Gregory in the passage quoted *supra*—and the anointment of David by Samuel which is not mentioned in the oration (fig. 4). As examples of the vision of God granted to some men, Isaiah who "saw the Lord of Sabaoth sitting on the Throne of Glory," or Ezekiel who "describes the Cherubic Chariot of God. . . and Him that shewed Himself in the firmament" might be considered as more appropriate subjects; instead, the painter has chosen those figures or scenes which in Christian symbolism are recognized as "antitypes" of Christ. From the Early Christian period on, the sacrifice of Isaac is one of the typological themes most frequently mentioned as the prefiguration of the Passion;<sup>25</sup> and this is recalled by Gregory in his sermon when he speaks of it as "the type of the Great Sacrifice." Jacob is also an antitype of Christ; Justin and Origen in several instances state that Christ is called Jacob and Israel,<sup>26</sup> and Justin gives the following explanation of the name Israel. "The name of Israel then means this: A man overcoming power. For *Isra* is a man overcoming, and *el* is power. And this it was prophesied that Christ would do when He had become man, by the mystery of this wrestling in which Jacob wrestled with Him who appeared to him."<sup>27</sup> The typology of Jacob's ladder is already alluded to in the Gospel of John (1:51).<sup>28</sup>

That these scenes represented by the painter were chosen as types of Christ is further proved by the addition of the last scene. Instead of depicting Jacob anointing the pillar, which, as Gregory says, signifies "the Rock that was

<sup>24</sup> PG 36, col. 49; NPNF, p. 295.

<sup>25</sup> J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri. Etudes sur les origines de la typologie biblique* (Paris, 1950), pp. 97–111.

<sup>26</sup> Justin Martyr, *The Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. by A. Lukyn Williams (London, 1930), XXXVI. 2, C. 1, CXIV. 2. Origen, *Homilies on Genesis*, PG 12, cols. 128 A, 242–43, and *Commentaries on Saint John*, PG 14, cols. 64 A, 93 C.

<sup>27</sup> Justin Martyr, *op. cit.*, CXXV. 3.

<sup>28</sup> J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri*, pp. 99–100.

anointed for our sake," he has painted the anointment of David, which has the same meaning. Origen in his commentaries on the Psalms clearly states that David is a figure of Christ, and among the scriptural passages which he quotes as proof of this is Psalm 88(89):20-21: "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him: with whom my hand shall be established: mine arm also shall strengthen him."<sup>29</sup> Similar ideas are expressed by Basil of Seleucia who writes that David, chosen by the Lord, the ancestor of Christ according to the flesh, had received together with the royal dignity the promise of the Lord's incarnation.<sup>30</sup>

The idea of illustrating the oration on God by means of the "types" of Christ is in keeping with the general tendency of Byzantine art in which the Father is represented with the features of the Son, His likeness. For the oration "On the Son," we find, as is natural, scenes from the life of Jesus, but as will be seen, these are also intended to convey an idea closely connected with the main thesis of this homily. Gregory refutes the arguments of those who denied the Godhead of the Son, and he explains that He is of one substance with the Father, though a distinct person, generated beyond all time. Toward the end of his discourse he reviews the events of the life of Christ, always dwelling on the fact that God was made perfect man while remaining perfect God. From this long enumeration the painter has retained the words: "He asks where Lazarus was laid, for He was man, but He raised Lazarus, for He was God," and he has represented the Raising of Lazarus as his first scene.<sup>31</sup> But, instead of representing any of the other episodes, he has depicted Jesus at the house of Simon and the Entry into Jerusalem, which are not mentioned in the homily (fig. 5). One might think that these two scenes were added because the painter found them in his model, since, in the gospel of John, the account of Christ's Anointment by Mary at Bethany, and His Triumphal Entry follow the Raising of Lazarus. However, by writing ΜΑΡΙΑ above one of the two sisters kneeling at Christ's feet, and Η ΠΟΡΝΗ above the woman who is washing Christ's feet, the painter has clearly indicated that he is following the account of Luke (7:36-40) and not that of John (12:1-8).

In his study on the typology of the gospel of John, H. Sahlin explains that the anointment at Bethany signifies that Jesus now inaugurates His function as the Messiah, and that the anointment of His feet, instead of His head, finds its explanation in Jesus' own words to the disciples: "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit" (John 13:10).<sup>32</sup> This messianic meaning can also be applied to the account in Luke, since there also—in contradistinction to the gospels of Matthew and Mark—Christ's feet, rather than His head, are washed and anointed.

Two ideas, closely connected with the context of the Oration, are set forth in the illustration: Jesus, perfect man and perfect God raises Lazarus; Jesus, the

<sup>29</sup> PG 12, col. 1118 C.

<sup>30</sup> PG 85, col. 189 C; Homily on David.

<sup>31</sup> PG 36, col. 101 A; NPNF, p. 309.

<sup>32</sup> Harald Sahlin, *Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums*. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 4 (Uppsala-Leipzig, 1950), p. 46.

Messiah, is anointed and acclaimed by the people with the cries of "Hosanna, Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord" (John 12:13).

We must now turn to the introductory discourse of the theological orations which is directed against the Eunomians.<sup>33</sup> In this Gregory condemns the nefarious habit of argumentation on sacred subjects in all places and by all persons, and lays down "clearly with respect to the theologian, both what sort of character he ought to bear and on what kind of subject he may philosophize, and when, and to what extent."<sup>34</sup> There is nothing in this sermon which could have furnished a theme susceptible of translation into pictorial form, but, recalling that the discourse is directed against the Eunomians who argued that the Son, being begotten, could not be of the same essence as the Father, the painter has represented several miracles which, like the Raising of Lazarus, are meant to show that Christ is perfect man and perfect God, and therefore of the same essence as the Father. Two of the miracles represented here—Jesus walking on the waters and taking by the hand Peter who was about to sink, and the healing of demoniacs<sup>35</sup>—were alluded to by Gregory in his first Oration On the Son. "He was heavy with sleep, but He walked lightly over the sea. He rebuked the winds, He made Peter light as he began to sink . . . ; the demons acknowledge Him and He drives out demons."<sup>36</sup> The illustrator may have remembered this passage, but whether he did or not is of no particular importance, for in order to show Jesus who, as man, walked among men, and, as God, healed them, one miracle served as well as another.

The same type of pictorial exegesis is used for the two letters addressed to Cledonius.<sup>37</sup> Here Gregory attacks those who held the same views as Apollinarius and partially denied Christ's humanity; he restates the true Orthodox doctrine which does not sever the manhood from the Godhead and recognizes in Christ "one and the same Person, Who was perfect man and also God."<sup>38</sup> Once again several miracles, not even alluded to in the text, have been depicted as examples of the events in the life of Christ incarnate which revealed His Godhead.<sup>39</sup>

The oration "On the Dogma," delivered on the occasion of a visit paid by some bishops,<sup>40</sup> is a long theological treatise on the Trinity in which Gregory speaks at greater length on the generation of the Son. In the beginning of the sermon he sets forth certain precepts for the priests, stating that one cannot attempt to direct the souls of the faithful, or discourse on theology, if one has not previously subjected the body to the soul and purified oneself in body and soul. In order to be worthy of offering the holy sacrifice one must first offer

<sup>33</sup> PG 36, cols. 12–25.

<sup>34</sup> NPNF, p. 288.

<sup>35</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxvi.

<sup>36</sup> PG 36, col. 101 A; NPNF, p. 309.

<sup>37</sup> These two letters, PG 37, cols. 176–201, have been included among the homilies.

<sup>38</sup> PG 37, col. 177 C; NPNF, p. 439.

<sup>39</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. xlv–xlvi. The following miracles are represented: withered hand, blind men of Jericho, bent woman, fig tree, man born blind, paralytic, widow's son at Nain; and the parable of the widow's mite.

<sup>40</sup> T. Sinko has corrected the title *περί δόγματος καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων* to read *περί δόγματος κατὰ καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπων*; quoted by Paul Gallay, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris, 1943), p. 186. PG 35, cols. 1065–1080.



oneself to God as a living sacrifice and become the holy temple of the living God.

The illustrations of this homily show: Jesus, the divine model of the priest, seated among the doctors in the temple, asking them questions and answering them, prototype of the priest preparing himself to teach the Scriptures; then, Jesus in the desert, resisting the tempter, an example of the subjection of the body to the soul and the purification through prayer and fasting; and, in the last scene, Jesus Feeding the Multitude (fig. 6). The special iconography of this composition, in which Christ, standing in the center, blesses the loaves and fishes presented by two apostles, while the people and the baskets filled with bread are relegated to the sides, subordinates the narrative element to the symbolic interpretation of this miracle, recognized by all the commentators of the Gospels as the prototype of the eucharistic sacrifice.<sup>41</sup> The miniatures thus translate into images the precepts set forth by Gregory, culminating in the holiest function of the priest.

The oration "On the Arrival of the Egyptians"<sup>42</sup> was delivered when some Egyptian merchants, who had come to Constantinople, passed by the large churches still held by the Arians and went to Gregory's small chapel, the Anastasia. He welcomed these men who came from the land to which the infant Jesus had fled from the persecutions of Herod, the land which, of old, the wisdom of Joseph had saved from famine, and which was now spiritually nourished by the teachings of Peter and Athanasius. He hailed them as true defenders of the faith, worshippers of the Godhead in three persons, and he attacked the heretics who denied the true divinity of the Son or of the Holy Spirit. The passing references to the Massacre of the Innocents, to the Flight into Egypt, or to Joseph have not held the attention of the illustrator; instead, realizing that this oration is essentially a defense of the Orthodox faith, he has represented the second Oecumenical Council convoked in Constantinople in 381 by the Emperor Theodosius.<sup>43</sup> This Council reaffirmed the doctrine of Nicaea and condemned all those who did not fully accept the Nicæan creed; among these were the Apollinarians, and the semi-Arian Pneumotomachi, personified in the miniature by their leader, Macedonius, represented in the foreground on the left (fig. 16). The lower right corner of the page is torn off, but Apollinarius had been depicted here, facing Macedonius, for his name could still be read in the seventeenth century, when Banduri copied this miniature.<sup>44</sup>

The oration "On the Words of the Gospel, When Jesus had Finished these Sayings" (Matt. 19:1) is primarily a commentary of the answers given by Jesus

<sup>41</sup> This same interpretation is made evident in the representations of this scene in the catacombs and on monuments of Early Christian art such as the chair of Maximian, the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, or the Gospel of Sinope. J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903), p. 286 and ff. C. Cecchelli, *La Cattedra di Massimiano* (Rome, 1958), pp. 170-176 and pl. xxix. A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'évangéliste de Sinope* (Paris, Bibl. nationale, 1948), pp. 19-20, pl. III. See also F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, s.v. pain, XIII. 1, p. 447 and ff.

<sup>42</sup> PG 36, cols. 241-256.

<sup>43</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. L.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12 and pl. facing p. 12.

to the Pharisees' questions on marriage and divorce (vs. 3-12). Gregory begins his discourse with these words, "Jesus Who chose the Fishermen, Himself also useth a net, and changeth place for place. Why? Not only that He may gain more of those who love God by His visitation; but also, as it seems to me, that He may hallow more places. To the Jews He becomes as a Jew that He may gain the Jews; to them that are under the law as under the law, that He may redeem them that are under the law; to the weak as weak, that He may save the weak. . . . He casteth the net; He endureth all things, that He may draw up the fish from the depths, that is, Man who is swimming in the unsettled and bitter waves of life."<sup>45</sup>

As a direct illustration of this sermon, the painter could have represented Jesus speaking to the Pharisees or to the apostles. However he has preferred to depict the "Fishermen" to whom Jesus gave their mission, saying "go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (Matt. 28:19).<sup>46</sup> The first scene shows Jesus blessing His disciples and sending them forth; then, in twelve separate compartments, we see the people of all nations, baptized by the apostles who, like their Master, endured all things in order to save the people from "the unsettled and bitter ways of life" (fig. 17).

In his homily "On the Love of the Poor," Gregory extolls charity, the greatest of all virtues. He speaks in moving terms of the miserable condition of the poor and of the sick, especially of the lepers, outcasts avoided by everyone, who wandered half naked and half starved without finding any shelter. He urges his listeners to give generously to the poor, recalling the miserable rich man who burned in hell and asked for a drop of water to cool his tongue, while the poor man who bore his poverty with patience rested in Abraham's bosom.<sup>47</sup> The parable of Dives and Lazarus would have occurred to the painter even if Gregory had not referred to it; he has devoted half the page to this composition representing all the details of the story as it is narrated in the Gospel of Luke (16:19-31) (fig. 7). But the painter has also added another scene: in the upper half of the page we see a large building, and inside this Basil of Caesarea and Gregory, identified by the inscriptions, ministering to the sick. The ninth-century painter had in mind, no doubt, the hospital built by Basil at Caesarea, although it is not mentioned in the oration for, as modern scholarship has proved, it had not yet been erected when Gregory preached this sermon.<sup>48</sup> It was thought during the Middle Ages, however, that Gregory had delivered the oration in Basil's hospital. This opinion is expressed by the scholiast Basil the Younger, who lived in the first half of the tenth century, but it must already have been prevalent at the time the Paris manuscript was illustrated.<sup>49</sup>

The relation between text and image is more difficult to understand in some of the moral orations. In the one "On Moderation in Discussions," Gregory

<sup>45</sup> PG 36, cols. 281 A-284 B; NPNF, p. 338.

<sup>46</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI.

<sup>47</sup> PG 35, cols. 857-909; the reference to the rich man and Lazarus is in col. 904 B-C.

<sup>48</sup> Gallay, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

expresses his deep concern that those who should be most closely united are separated through arrogance and ignorance, and that the Church is divided into factions fighting against one another. Men have received different gifts from the Holy Spirit, he writes, and they are in different stations of life, but divine grace is for all men; whatever contributes to our salvation is not reserved for some, but freely given to all and we are all one body in Christ. He enjoins his people to observe order and discipline, to be humble and modest in their acts as in their speech, not to indulge in the discussion of matters that are beyond their understanding, and to act with wisdom and moderation in all circumstances.<sup>50</sup>

These moral considerations could not be illustrated, and the painter wisely refrained from representing the passing references to Moses and Aaron or to the apostles; instead he depicted, as his first scene, the Judgement of Solomon (fig. 8). Solomon appears here as the model of wisdom and justice, which were the gifts bestowed upon him by God when he asked for an "understanding heart" and for the ability to "discern between good and bad" (I Kings 3:9, 12). And when he pronounced his judgement to the two women, each one of whom claimed the child as her own, all Israel "saw that the wisdom of God was in him" (v. 28).

The meaning of the next two scenes—Jesus Speaking to the Samaritan Woman and Healing the Ten Lepers—is less clear. These episodes may have been selected as examples of the equality of all men in God's eyes and of the salvation reserved for all those who believe in Him. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans, but Jesus not only spoke to a woman of that nation but revealed to her that He was the Messiah, and many Samaritans believed in Him (John 4:26,39). As for the lepers who were healed, the only one of them who "turned, and with a loud voice glorified God, and fell down on his face at His feet, giving Him thanks," was also a Samaritan (Luke 17:15-16).

Only two of the three orations On Peace are illustrated, the miniature of the third oration is lost. The first sermon, entitled: "On Peace after the Reconciliation of the Monks," was preached after a schism in the church of Nazianzus had been healed.<sup>51</sup> This schism had come about when the elder Gregory had attached his signature to a semi-Arian creed; Gregory made his father apologize for his involuntary error and sign an Orthodox creed.<sup>52</sup> To celebrate the return of peace in the church he delivered the sermon in which he speaks of all the evils brought about by dissensions, praises the virtues of peace and, addressing himself to the people, tells them to embrace and kiss one another. Then, turning to his father, he adds: all your children have come to you, they surround the altar.<sup>53</sup> The last scene of the full page illustration (fig. 9) exactly corresponds to these words: father and son stand behind the altar and next to it are the monks embracing one another. The other scenes represented on this page are: The Creation; The Fall and Expulsion from Eden;

<sup>50</sup> PG 36, cols. 173-212.

<sup>51</sup> PG 35, cols. 721-752.

<sup>52</sup> Gallay, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-84.

<sup>53</sup> PG 35, cols. 748-749.

the Cherub with Flaming Sword Guarding the Gate; an Angel speaking to Adam; Adam and Eve seated on a mound; Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law.

Gregory alludes to the Fall when he says: we have not been able to escape the envy of the evil spirit, we have not preserved our inheritance. The reference to Moses is more explicit. Gregory recalls how the people of Israel were protected when they were at peace with one another and with God, while misfortunes befell them when they were no longer united or obedient; and he adds: what need is there for me to recall how God made His voice to be heard on the mountain, how He gave them the laws?<sup>54</sup>

These two passages help us to understand the relation between the miniatures and the oration. The peace between God and men, broken through the disobedience of our forefathers and their expulsion from Eden, was reestablished when God spoke to Moses and gave the Law to the people of Israel. Peace, and the union of mankind with God, are renewed through the sacraments; this is suggested in the last scene where Gregory and his father stand behind the altar, and this suggestion gives a second and deeper meaning to the narrative episode that has been represented.

In his second oration On Peace<sup>55</sup> Gregory again deplors the dissensions among the Christians, with special reference to the Apollinarians and other heretics. Extolling the peace he has just given to the people, that is during the liturgy, he dwells on the disastrous effects of discord. As illustrations of this homily we have representations of the Tower of Babel and the Flood.<sup>56</sup>

Gregory had alluded to the Flood in his first oration On Peace; we have been compared to Noah's Ark, he said, because we have been saved from the universal flood.<sup>57</sup> In his third oration On Peace he refers to the Tower of Babel, stating that all true defenders of the faith, who do not divide the Divinity, speak the same language, in contrast to the men who, in ancient times, erected a tower.<sup>58</sup> Neither the Tower nor the Flood are mentioned in the second oration, yet the choice of these two scenes can be understood.

In his second Catethetical Oration on the Holy Spirit, Cyril of Jerusalem contrasts the gift of tongues bestowed upon the apostles with the confusion of tongues. Those who heard the apostles were confounded, he says, "it was a second confusion in the room of that first evil one at Babylon. For in that confusion of tongues there was division of purpose, because their thought was at enmity with God; but their minds were restored and united, because the object of interest was godly."<sup>59</sup> This same opposition is brought out in the prayers of the Byzantine church for the feast of Pentecost. The Spirit has united in a divine harmony the tongues which had been divided; when God

<sup>54</sup> PG 35, cols. 733 C and 744 C.

<sup>55</sup> PG 35, cols. 1132-1152.

<sup>56</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LI.

<sup>57</sup> PG 35, col. 733 C.

<sup>58</sup> PG 35, col. 1153 C.

<sup>59</sup> Oratio XVII. 17: PG 33, col. 989 A; NPNF, VII, p. 128.

descended to confuse the tongues He dispersed the Gentiles, but when He sent the tongues of fire, He called all men to unity.<sup>60</sup>

The Tower of Babel thus appears here as the image of the destruction of the unity of the church, brought about by the dissensions of the heretics; the restoration of unity, resulting in the peace which Gregory evokes with great eloquence, is suggested by means of Noah's Ark and the Flood.

Patristic exegesis saw "in the Flood a type of Christ's Baptism, wherein He appeared as the new Noah on whom the Holy Spirit descends to reveal the reconciliation of God and man."<sup>61</sup> Gregory's oration is not immediately connected with this typology, but several passages in the writings of the Church Fathers explain the relation between his sermon on Peace and the image of the Flood where the dove, returning with the olive branch, has been given special prominence. In the *De Baptismo* Tertullian wrote: "As the dove was sent forth from the Ark after the Flood, the world's baptism so to speak, purifying it from all iniquity, and returning with an olive branch, a sign even among the gentiles of peace, announced peace upon earth; in the same way, but on a more spiritual level, the dove of the Holy Spirit came down upon earth... bringing the Peace of God, coming forth from the heavens where is the Church prefigured by the Ark."<sup>62</sup> Moreover, just as only those who were in the ark were saved, so also only those who are in the Church can hope for salvation. This idea, which ultimately goes back to Peter's Epistles (I, 3:20; II, 2:4-9), is also developed by the Greek Church Fathers, for instance by John Chrysostom who wrote: "The ark is the Church, Noah is Christ, the dove the Holy Spirit, the olive branch the divine philanthropy. As the ark in the midst of the waters protected those inside it, so does the Church protect those who have strayed."<sup>63</sup>

Dissensions and consequent punishment are thus portrayed by the Tower of Babel, while Noah and his family saved from the Flood and the dove returning with the olive branch are images of the restoration of peace through the union of all men within the Church.

I shall consider now the illustrations of the occasional sermons which are not purely narrative, although as in the Funeral Oration of his Father, discussed at the beginning, a narrative scene is sometimes included. Such is the oration which Gregory delivered in the presence of his father and of Basil after he had been made bishop of Sasima.<sup>64</sup> In the lower part of the page his consecration is represented,<sup>65</sup> a composition very similar to the same scene depicted at the end of the manuscript in the miniatures which accompany his *Vita* (fig. 10), while the Vision of Isaiah which fills the upper part of the page is inspired by the opening paragraph of the sermon. "Once more the anointment and the Spirit are

<sup>60</sup> Mercenier, *op. cit.*, II, 2, pp. 367, 372, 375. I wish to thank Father Jean Meyendorff for calling my attention to these texts and for other helpful suggestions.

<sup>61</sup> Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri*, p. 80; quoted from the English translation: *From Shadows to Reality* (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), p. 97. Earlier writers had insisted more on the eschatological typology of the Flood.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.*, *From Shadows to Reality*, p. 97; PL I, col. 1209 B.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101: PG 48, cols. 1037-1038.

<sup>64</sup> PG 35, cols. 820-825.

<sup>65</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxv.

as one and once again I walk in mourning and sadness. And can one wonder at this? Isaiah also, before he saw the glory of the Lord, His sublime throne and the seraphim around it . . . had no weakness, feared no thing, and raised his voice against Israel. . . . But when he saw these things, when he heard the holy and mysterious voice, then he exclaimed as if he had come to know himself better: Woe is me for I am undone . . . because I am a man of unclean lip and I dwell in the midst of people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts." This reference to the vision facilitated the task of selection, though it should be pointed out that this is not a passing reference, but one which is in close harmony with the real meaning of the homily and Gregory's fundamental attitude, his reluctance to accept the high office to which he considered himself to be ill fitted.

This reluctance, his predilection for the ascetic life which more than once caused him to escape into solitary regions, was more forcefully expressed by Gregory earlier in his career, in the Oration "In Defense of His Flight to Pontus and His Return after His Ordination," in which he also explains the reasons which made him come back to Nazianzus.<sup>66</sup> The illustrator has again focused his attention on these two central themes of the discourse. The most important factor leading to his return was the recollection of Jonah's story, how and why he fled "from the face of God, or rather thought that he was fleeing," and what happened to him after his flight.<sup>67</sup> This story the artist has fully illustrated, representing all the episodes,<sup>68</sup> but preceding it, in the upper section of the page, he has introduced two Gospel scenes: the Annunciation and the Visitation. These must be considered in connection with the first part of the discourse, the reasons given by Gregory for his flight to Pontus and his ideas concerning the obligations of the priestly office. One of these duties is to rescue the soul "from the world and give it to God, and to watch over that which is in His image"; this is Christ's wish, "this is why God was united to the flesh by means of the soul. . . . This is the reason for the generation and the virgin, for the manger and Bethlehem."<sup>69</sup> This allusion to the Incarnation has suggested the scene of the Annunciation, but there is an added meaning. We have here another example of hesitation followed by acceptance, since Mary at first doubted the message of the angel, saying: "How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?" but later accepted exclaiming: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke 1:34, 38). The reference to the Incarnation, the reasons "of the assumed flesh, of the novel union between God and man" are further illustrated by means of the Visitation, although this scene is not mentioned by Gregory, for both the words of Elizabeth greeting "the mother of my Lord," and those of Mary in the Magnificat are proclamations of this mystery.

After his consecration as bishop of Sasima, Gregory was still reluctant to enter upon his episcopal duties and had even resigned his see; but finally,

<sup>66</sup> PG 35, cols. 408-513.

<sup>67</sup> PG 35, cols. 505-508; NPNF, pp. 225-226.

<sup>68</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xx.

<sup>69</sup> PG 35, cols. 432 B-433 A; NPNF, pp. 209-210.

yielding to his father's entreaties, he went to Nazianzus to become bishop-coadjutor. In the short oration pronounced on the occasion of his installation he said that not only had he been overpowered by the old age of his father, but he had been "torn asunder by regret and enthusiasm. The one suggests flights, mountains, and deserts, and calm of soul and body, and that the mind should retire into itself, and recall its powers from sensible things, in order to hold pure communion with God, and be clearly illumined by the flashing rays of the Spirit, with no admixture or disturbance of the divine light by anything earthly or clouded. . . . The other wills that I should come forward, and bear fruit for the common good, and be helped by helping others, and publish the Divine light, and bring to God a people for His own possession, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, and His image cleansed in many souls."<sup>70</sup>

The large composition of the Transfiguration accompanies this Oration,<sup>71</sup> a scene suggested in part by the references to the "flashing rays of the spirit" and "the Divine light," but even more because it was on Mount Tabor that Christ's divinity was first revealed to the apostles, and because it is the duty of the priest, successor of the apostles, "to publish the Divine light, and bring to God a people for His own possession."<sup>72</sup>

Basil of Caesarea had had a major role in forcing Gregory to accept his election as bishop of Sasima, and Gregory could never quite forget what he called a treachery on the part of a friend who was well aware of his yearning for the ascetic life. When Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, once paid a visit to Nazianzus, Gregory welcomed him in an oration in which he could not refrain from alluding to Basil, or from complaining that though Gregory of Nyssa, to whom he was particularly devoted, had come at this time, he had not come earlier, when he most needed him. Of what use is an alliance after everything has been destroyed by the enemy, or a pilot after the tempest, asked Gregory, and he quoted the words uttered by Job: "How hast thou helped him that is without power? How savest thou the arm that hath no strength? How hast thou counselled him that hath no wisdom?" (26:1-2)<sup>73</sup>

As an illustration of this homily we see first the portraits of Gregory of Nazianzus, of Gregory of Nyssa for whom the oration was pronounced, and of the brother of the latter, Basil of Caesarea.<sup>74</sup> The complaint by Job, to whom Gregory compares himself, has furnished the subject of the scene in the lower half of the page: Job, covered with sores is seated among the ashes; on the left stand his friends and on the right his wife who, protecting her nose from the stench, presents him some food at the end of an iron pike.

<sup>70</sup> PG 35, col. 848 A-B; NPNF, p. 246.

<sup>71</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxviii.

<sup>72</sup> Kondakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 65 considered the Transfiguration to be an illustration of a passage in the Homily in which Gregory mentioned Aaron and Hur who supported the hands of Moses. But this scene is a "type" of the Crucifixion as Gregory himself clearly explains. "The office of Aaron and Hur, supporting the hands of Moses on the mount where Amalek was warred down by the Cross, prefigured and typified long before, I feel willing to pass by, as not very suitable or applicable to us"; NPNF, p. 245, PG 35, col. 845 A.

<sup>73</sup> PG 35, cols. 833 C-836 A.

<sup>74</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvii.

Gregory's oration addressed to those who accused him of having sought the patriarchate of Constantinople is a long apology of his life followed by exhortations to the emperors, the dignitaries, and the common people, bidding them all to live according to the teachings of the Gospel.<sup>75</sup> Two biblical scenes illustrate this oration: above, Moses striking the rock in the desert and the people drinking the water (Exod. 17:1-7); and below, two separate episodes from the Book of Joshua. To the right Joshua kneels before the angel (5:13-15), to the left he raises his hand bidding the sun to stand still, while his army is slaughtering the enemy (10:10-13).<sup>76</sup>

Gregory begins his oration by saying that he is surprised to see with what attention they listen to his feeble voice; he is not the first to preach the Orthodox doctrine in Constantinople, he has not smitten a new fountain for them, as Moses did for the Egyptians, but one that was secret and obstructed, as the servants of Isaac did of old, cleaning out not only the wells of living waters but also those which had been filled by the Philistines.<sup>77</sup> The representation of the miracle performed by Moses, which Gregory recalls, should be considered here with its symbolic implications. There is already a veiled reference to it in the Gospel of John when Jesus, speaking to the Samaritan woman, tells her that God would have given her "living water," and that the water given by Him will be "a well of water springing up into everlasting life" (John 4:10,14).<sup>78</sup> Paul is more explicit in the Epistle to the Corinthians. After referring to the Passage of the Red Sea as a prefiguration of the Baptism, he adds "and [our fathers] did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ" (I Cor. 10:4). Gregory of Nyssa, in his Commentary On the Life of Moses, adopts the same typology and gives the spiritual interpretation of the miracle: the Rock is Christ, inaccessible and resisting to the unbelievers, but to whoever approaches it with the staff of faith it becomes a drink which quenches the thirst and fills him; for Christ said: My Father and I will come unto him and make our abode with him (John 14:23).<sup>79</sup>

The symbolism of the first scene may explain why two episodes from the life of Joshua, not even alluded to in the text, have been added. For if the Rock is Christ, Joshua (Jesus in the Greek version) is the "type" of Christ most frequently mentioned in Christian exegesis. Moreover, Moses and Joshua are constantly opposed to one another: Joshua is the successor of Moses and greater than him, since he alone brought the people into the Promised Land,<sup>80</sup> and in his homilies on Joshua, Origen wrote that Moses did not order the sun to stand still as Joshua did.

<sup>75</sup> PG 36, cols. 265-280.

<sup>76</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XL.

<sup>77</sup> PG 36, col. 265 B-C.

<sup>78</sup> H. Sahlin (*op. cit.*, pp. 16-17) explains the typology of the conversation between Christ and the Samaritan woman with special reference to the twelve wells of water at Elim (Exod. 15:27).

<sup>79</sup> Grégoire de Nysse, *La vie de Moïse*, with introduction and translation by J. Daniélou, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1955), pp. 71-72 and Introduction, pp. x-xxiv.

<sup>80</sup> J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri*, pp. 203-256. Origène, *Homélies sur Josué*, with introduction, translation, and notes by Annie Jaubert (Paris, 1960), pp. 9-62.



According to Origen, Joshua's miracle means that while we are fighting against our enemies and the evil spirits the "sun of righteousness" will not leave us, for He said: "and, lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world."<sup>81</sup> As for the "man" who appeared to Joshua and identified himself as "the captain of the host of the Lord" (Josh. 5:14), Origen sees in him Christ, whom Joshua recognized and worshipped, for "is there another captain of the host of the Lord, save Our Lord, Jesus Christ?"<sup>82</sup> John Chrysostom also wrote that Joshua is the image of Jesus and his miracle—when he stopped the sun—was greater than the miracles of Moses.<sup>83</sup>

The central argument in Gregory's apology is that, although unworthy and unwilling, he has accepted his high office so as to defend the faith and the true doctrine attacked by the enemies of the Church. These are the ideas illustrated by means of the antitypes of Christ represented here. The waters that gushed from the rock are the "living waters" which Gregory's teaching brings to his flock. Moreover, Moses and Joshua are his biblical models, the one giving the Law to the people of Israel and keeping them faithful to the worship of God, the other scattering the enemies of Israel, thanks to the divine assistance granted to him.

Gregory refers to biblical episodes which are prefigurations of Christ in his oration on the Consecration of Eulalios as Bishop of Doaris. He gives thanks to God for His help in the troubles which had beset the Church. Who was it, he says, who stopped the war, if not the almighty Lord, the arbiter of wars, who divided the waters, fed the people in the desert, sent down the manna, brought forth water from the rock, put to flight the Amalekites by virtue of the hands spread in the shape of the cross, who destroyed the walls of a city?<sup>84</sup> In the frontispiece of this oration (fig. 11), above the figure of Gregory writing his sermon, we see two of these scenes which are constantly recalled by the Early Christian writers in their interpretation of the Old Testament: the Destruction of Jericho, and Moses praying, his hands held up by Aaron and Hur while Joshua is destroying the army of Amalek (Ex. 17:10-13).<sup>85</sup> As in the preceding example and the writings of the Church Fathers, Moses and Joshua appear together, each one in a different way as the type of Christ.

I shall mention only briefly here two other orations connected with events in Gregory's life. In the first, entitled "On himself, to his father and to Basil the Great," and pronounced when, yielding to these two, he had agreed to be elevated to the rank of bishop, Gregory speaks again, but in more general terms, of the reasons for his hesitations and final acceptance.<sup>86</sup> I have not been able to find anything in this short sermon which could explain the extensive Old

<sup>81</sup> Origène, *Homélies sur Josué*, pp. 106-108.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184-186.

<sup>83</sup> Homily on the Epistle to the Hebrews: PG 63, col. 187. See also PG 56, col. 104.

<sup>84</sup> PG 35, col. 853 A-B.

<sup>85</sup> For the typology of the Fall of Jericho, see J. Daniélou, *Sacramentum futuri*, pp. 246-256 and Origène, *Homélies sur Josué*, pp. 188-190. For the typology of Moses praying with outstretched arms, see J. Daniélou, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-148, and Grégoire de Nysse, *Vie de Moïse*, pp. 76-77 and references in note 2.

<sup>86</sup> PG 36, cols. 828-832; Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvi.

Testament cycle from the life of Joseph used as an illustration, and I shall consider it, further on, in connection with another group of miniatures. The second is "The Last Farewell" delivered during the Oecumenical Council in the presence of the bishops, when he felt obliged to resign his office as patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>87</sup> The representation of the Council of 381 had been selected, as we have seen, for the oration On the Arrival of the Egyptians. Here Gregory is depicted first standing between the bishops and Theodosius, and then, taking leave of the people and entering the ship which carried him back to Nazianzus (fig. 12). These scenes are not connected with the oration, for it was pronounced entirely in the council room and addressed to the bishops; they represent events recounted by Gregory in his long autobiographical poem and in the *Vita* by Gregory the Presbyter. After his farewell speech Gregory had left the Council and rushed to the palace; there, in the presence of several witnesses, he asked Theodosius' permission to leave his see. When the Emperor granted his request, Gregory tried to persuade his friends and followers to bear with patience all that had happened; he comforted his flock who could not bear to part from him, and he departed for Nazianzus.<sup>88</sup> We see here, therefore, two events which took place after his farewell address; first Gregory in the palace speaking with the Emperor, as the inscription of the miniature specifies, ὁ θεολόγος συν[διαλεγ]όμενος βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ, then Gregory leaving Constantinople;<sup>89</sup> a narrative scene very similar in composition to the first miniature illustrating his *Vita* (fig. 10).<sup>90</sup>

Among the occasional sermons which are illustrated by means of Old or New Testament scenes, we must also consider the oration addressed "To Julian the Tax Collector," and another "To the People of Nazianzus and the Prefect."

In the first of these two orations Gregory calls upon the people to turn their minds to spiritual rather than worldly matters and to work towards their salvation through the observance of charity, love, and kindness to one another.<sup>91</sup> He appeals to those who are responsible for the assessment of taxes to do so

<sup>87</sup> PG 36, cols. 457-492.

<sup>88</sup> *De Vita sua*, verses 1871-1918: PG 37, cols. 1160-1164. The account of Gregory the Presbyter (PG 35, cols. 300 C-301 A) is based on this poem.

<sup>89</sup> In his discussion of this miniature, K. Weitzmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 122-124) remarks that the text of the homily does not give the slightest clue to a meeting between Gregory and the Emperor, nor is such a meeting mentioned in any of the chronicles. He suggests, therefore, that the first scene is taken from a manuscript of Theodoret, where it illustrated the passage describing the reception of Meletius and other bishops at the palace, before the meeting of the Council. But since we know from Gregory's own poem that he had been to see the Emperor at the palace, it is not necessary to look for another explanation of this first scene. A similar composition occurs in a manuscript of later date, Paris. gr. 543, facing the Farewell Address (Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. cxxiv. 2). Here Theodosius, surrounded by dignitaries of the palace, presents a staff to Gregory, identified by his facial type, but clothed in the simple, brown tunic and mantle of a priest. In the second scene, on the same page, Gregory dressed in patriarchal robes, delivers his farewell address, standing between two groups of bishops. This second scene, showing Gregory and the bishops seated instead of standing, is the one usually selected for the headpiece of the "Last Farewell" (Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. cxiv. 1, cxvi. 13; Hatch, *op. cit.*, pl. xvi). In the Jerusalem manuscript, Τάφου no. 14, while this composition occupies the headpiece, another miniature is painted at the end of the homily, on folio 265, showing Gregory leaving Constantinople in a boat; that is, the same scene as in Paris. gr. 510.

<sup>90</sup> The first scene, which shows the departure of Gregory from his home is very close to the composition of Paris. gr. 510 and Jerusalem Τάφου 14 depicting Gregory leaving Constantinople: Gregory has stepped into a boat manned by two sailors; his parents, his brother, and sister stand on the shore.

<sup>91</sup> PG 35, cols. 1044-1064.

with justice, if for no other reason than that our Saviour was born at the time when all the people were being taxed; when Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem, Jesus was born, the shepherds were dazzled by the light, the Magi offered their gifts and recognized Him as God, while Herod, seized with fury, ordered that all the children be killed. Let us be with those who came to worship Him, he adds, and if we have no incense, gold, or myrrh, let us give Him the mystical gifts which are higher than the material ones. The illustrator has represented the Adoration of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents, recalled by Gregory; to these two scenes he has added the Presentation of Christ, perhaps as an example of a "mystic" gift, and because Joseph brought to the temple the young pigeons to be sacrificed according to the law.<sup>92</sup>

The second of these two orations was pronounced when the people of Nazianzus, who had rebelled against the heavy exactions, were alarmed by the arrival of the governor of the province, and fled to the church seeking protection. The prefect also came to the church and Gregory spoke in his presence comforting his people and, at the same time, appealing to the prefect. Gregory begins his oration by telling his flock that he is suffering for them as Jeremiah suffered for the misfortunes of the people of Israel; he urges them not to be downcast and to pray, reminding them of David who, bowed down with grief, turned to God and sought comfort through his prayers. Then, addressing himself to the prefect and other officials, he entreats them, in an eloquent plea, to be lenient in their demands and to imitate the charity of God.<sup>93</sup>

The illustrations of this oration are in harmony with its context, even though not all of the scenes represented are specifically mentioned in the text, and some are differently interpreted.<sup>94</sup> The first one shows the prophet Jeremiah not lamenting over Israel, as Gregory recalls, but lowered down into the dungeon with cords, while King Zedekiah is sitting in the gate of Benjamin (Jer. 38:6-7). It is not quite clear why this episode was chosen—perhaps as an example of unjust punishment—but the next one agrees with Gregory's allusion to David's grief and prayer, for it represents his penitence as he kneels before the prophet Nathan and confesses his sins. As illustrations for the second part of the homily, the appeal for leniency and imitation of Christ's charity, the painter has represented the parable of the Good Samaritan, in which, following the explanation given by all commentators, the Samaritan is represented as Christ. The three miracles which follow—the Healing of the Paralytic and of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, and the Raising of Jairus' Daughter—are no doubt meant to show examples of Christ's compassion not merely through the parable but by means of actual events in His life.

The *Declaratio in Ezechielem*, one of the last texts included in this collection of homilies, is a spurious work, a short and somewhat trivial explanation of Ezekiel's vision of the four living creatures by the river Chebar;<sup>95</sup> facing it we see, instead of this scene, Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones (37:1-14) (fig. 13).

<sup>92</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxii.

<sup>93</sup> PG 35, cols. 964-981.

<sup>94</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxiii.

<sup>95</sup> PG 35, cols. 665-669.

The prophet is represented twice: above, standing on a mountain the slopes of which are littered with skulls and bones, he raises his hands in prayer to the Hand of God; below, an angel shows to him a group of small figures, that is, the bones which, receiving sinew, flesh, skin, and the breath of life, "stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army" (v. 10).

The resurrection of the dry bones, typifying in the biblical text Israel's revived life, was interpreted by the Church Fathers as the symbol of the final resurrection,<sup>96</sup> and this passage of the Book of Ezekiel is read during the services of the great Saturday following the prayers which acclaim Christ's resurrection.<sup>97</sup>

The composition of the Paris manuscript, one of the finest in the volume, is set, exceptionally, in an ornate oval frame which contributes toward giving greater prominence to the theophanic vision. It should be noted that the painter disregarded the accompanying text, and, instead of depicting the vision by the river Chebar, of which there are many earlier examples, he chose the vision of the dry bones which is very rarely represented. The reason for this choice must be sought, I think, in the interpretation of this vision that connects it with the Resurrection. Placed almost at the end of the series of homilies this miniature shows, in the symbolic manner adopted for many of the other illustrations, the final reward of those who practice the Christian virtues and who remain true to the true doctrine of the Church propounded by Gregory. It is an image which shows the promise of human salvation and eternal life foretold by the prophets, prefigured in the Old Testament, and fulfilled through Christ's Incarnation and Passion.

A small number of illustrations have no apparent connection with the orations which they accompany, and in each one of these instances one may ask the question whether the illustrated page is in its original place. The first two to be considered are folios 30 and 32. On folio 30<sup>v</sup>, preceding the oration "To Those Who Had Invited Him, and Not Come to Receive Him," we see the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Burial, and Christ Appearing to the Holy Women.<sup>98</sup> The martyrdom of the twelve apostles has been represented on folio 32<sup>v</sup>; not only do these scenes have no connection with the Funeral Oration of Gregory's brother Caesarius, which they precede, but the burial of Caesarius has been represented on folio 43<sup>v</sup>, together with the portraits of the entire family and the death of Gorgonia, Gregory's sister, in front of the Funeral Oration of Gorgonia.<sup>99</sup>

The gatherings of this manuscript are normally quaternions, but no. 8' (fols. 26-34), to which folios 30 and 32 belong, has at present nine folios; to this

<sup>96</sup> Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst* (Münster in Westf., 1912), pp. 180-188; see pp. 25, 43-44, and 47 for the references to the writings of the Church Fathers. The connection of this vision with the Resurrection is particularly clear on an ivory of the British Museum which includes the figure of Christ in a mandorla: *ibid.*, pp. 182-185 and fig. 26. The earliest representation of the vision of the dry bones is in the Dura Synagogue: Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue. The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII, Part I* (New Haven, 1956), pp. 178-194, pls. LXIX-LXXI.

<sup>97</sup> Mercenier, *op. cit.*, II, 2, p. 254.

<sup>98</sup> PG 35, cols. 517-525. Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.

<sup>99</sup> PG 35, cols. 755-817, Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII, XXIII.

a tenth folio should be added, for the beginning of the oration "To Those Who had Invited Him" (before fol. 31) is missing. One may therefore wonder if folios 30 and 32, each one of which is a half-leaf, and has no writing on the recto, were not misplaced when the manuscript was rebound in 1602. Mademoiselle M. A. Concasty of the Department of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale, very kindly re-examined the manuscript for me, and she writes as follows concerning folio 30. "Placé au milieu du cahier, il a été certainement cousu après, car une seconde ficelle est nettement visible, à la pliure du talon, de couleur plus claire que la ficelle de couture du cahier, que l'on voit sous le talon. Il est donc vraisemblable que le folio 30 a été déplacé au moment de la reliure." The Passion and Resurrection scenes of folio 30<sup>v</sup> would be an appropriate illustration for the first oration on Easter (folio 1) which now has no miniature attached to it.

The oration "In Praise of Heron of Alexandria," was pronounced in honor of Maximus, an imposter who succeeded in deceiving Gregory and posed as one who had suffered for the Orthodox faith.<sup>100</sup> Gregory praises him as the most perfect of philosophers, the defender of truth who upheld the dogma of the Trinity and who, by his invincible courage, became the persecutor of those who persecuted him. He recalls at some length the persecutions of the true defenders of the faith by the Arians and by Julian the Apostate and then passes on to the sufferings of Heron, to his exile and return after four years, which he compares to the resurrection of Lazarus after four days. Several episodes from the life of Samson, Gideon praying for the dew to fall on the fleece, and the martyrdom of Isaiah accompany this oration (fig. 14). The Samson cycle, ending with the destruction of the house at Gaza in which the Philistines were assembled, might be considered as the representation of a man of great courage who persecuted those who had persecuted him; and the apocryphal scene of Isaiah's death as an example of the martyrdom of a just and pious man. The image of Gideon is more difficult to understand for in Christian exegesis the miracle of the fleece is usually interpreted as a type of the virgin birth. The connection of all these miniatures with the oration is very tenuous, and material considerations lead one to wonder whether the illustrated folio 347 is in its original place. The gathering to which it belongs (fols. 342-349) now has the normal number of eight leaves, but before folio 348 a folio with the beginning of the oration is missing, so there should be nine folios altogether; folio 347 is a half-leaf without any writing on the recto, like the two folios previously mentioned.

The same remarks apply to folio 435, which has no writing on the recto and is a half-leaf attached to a gathering consisting of nine folios (fols. 432-440). The scenes painted on the verso are David in the Lion's Den; the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace; the Prayer of Manassah; and Isaiah and Hezekiah, scenes which are familiar through the illustrations of the Canticles in Psalters, but which have no connection with the text which they precede. This

<sup>100</sup> PG 35, cols. 1197-1225.

text is the letter to the Monk Evagrius giving primarily an exposition of the dogma of the Trinity.<sup>101</sup>

In each one of these examples of marked inconsistency between picture and text, the present make-up of the manuscript gives one cause to suspect a disturbance in the order of the folios which may have occurred before the rebinding, when the manuscript had already suffered the loss of several illustrated pages; or it may have occurred when it was rebound.<sup>102</sup>

All the miniatures that we have seen thus far gave entirely, or in part, a theological or symbolical interpretation of the orations; but there is one important set of representations which has other connotations and the same connotations may be detected in some of the compositions that have already been discussed.

The last text which formed part of the original collection of homilies copied in the ninth century, is the Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes, a spurious work like the Commentary of Ezekiel.<sup>103</sup> The accompanying illustration has no connection with this biblical book for it represents Constantine's Dream; the Battle at the Milvian Bridge with the Sign of the Cross, seen by Constantine as he was marching on Rome, shining in the sky; and the Invention of the True Cross (fig. 15). Historical events, the Battle at the Milvian Bridge and the Invention of the Cross, separated from one another by several years, have been brought together on this page; these same events are also recalled together in the prayers sung on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. "O Cross, luminous sign among the stars, you showed in advance a trophy of victory to the most pious King; having found you, his mother Helena made of you the adornment of the world. In exalting you on this day, we, the choir of the faithful, cry out: 'Light us with your splendor, O vivifying cross; sanctify us by your virtue, O most venerable cross, and fortify us by your exaltation, you who are raised against the army of our enemies.'"<sup>104</sup>

The imperial implications of these compositions in the Paris manuscript cannot be mistaken. Constantine's successors on the throne of Byzantium owed

<sup>101</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII. The letter is considered spurious by modern critics; it is published with the letters of Gregory of Nyssa in PG 46, cols. 1101-1108.

<sup>102</sup> The miniatures are usually painted on a verso and face the opening page of the homily they illustrate; the recto of this illustrated folio may or may not have any writing depending on whether the text of the preceding homily ends on a verso, or continues on the recto of this illustrated folio. However, in sixteen instances where the text ends on a verso, the next page is not left blank, but the miniature of the following homily is painted on this recto and the text begins on the verso, thus no longer facing the illustration. Three homilies have no accompanying miniatures although a blank page precedes each of them: Letter to Cledonius, beginning on folio 309 (folio 308<sup>v</sup> is blank); Homily on the Nativity, beginning on folio 250 (folio 249<sup>v</sup> is blank); Panegyric of Athanasius, beginning on folio 319<sup>v</sup> (folio 319<sup>r</sup> is blank). The stub of a folio that has been cut off can be seen between folios 249 and 250 and there was probably an illustrated leaf here. The Oration *De se ipso, cum ex agris rediret*, beginning on folio 231<sup>v</sup> was never intended to have an illustration, for the preceding homily ends on folio 231<sup>r</sup>; the headpiece of folio 231<sup>v</sup> has been cut off, but there is no lacuna in the text.

<sup>103</sup> This text has been attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgos and published among his works: PG 10, cols. 988-1017. The oration In Praise of the Martyrs and Against the Arians is written by a later hand on the original vellum leaves, which for some reason were left blank: fol. 450<sup>v</sup>-451<sup>v</sup>. The *Vita* of Gregory, by Gregory the Presbyter (fols. 452<sup>v</sup>-465<sup>v</sup>) is incomplete; it is written by the same scribe as the rest of the manuscript; the illustrations are on folio 452<sup>r</sup>, fig. 10.

<sup>104</sup> Mercenier, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 117; see also p. 116 prayer by Theophanes.

their victories to divine intervention and to the principal instrument, the σταυρὸς νικοποιός, revealed to the first Christian Emperor.<sup>105</sup> The crosses stamped on the imperial coinage, the place assigned to the cross in the ceremonies which took place in the Palace or the Hippodrome, reveal the triumphal meaning of the cross, essential attribute of the sovereigns who "rule and conquer through it."<sup>106</sup> The cross known as the Constantinian Cross, kept as a precious relic in the Palace, preceded the emperors in all the official processions and accompanied them on their military expeditions.<sup>107</sup> We are thus inevitably led to the conclusion that the image of Constantine's Vision was included in the Paris manuscript because it was written for the Emperor Basil I.<sup>108</sup> The illustrations begin with the imperial portraits and end with the representation of Basil's august predecessor Constantine, continually evoked by Byzantine historians who salute every victorious emperor as a New Constantine. The words heard by Constantine, ἐν τούτῳ νικά, are clearly inscribed on the cross which appears in the sky in the scene of the Milvian Bridge, and the inscriptions IC XC NIKA accompany the two large crosses painted at the beginning. In the preliminary sketch only the crown placed jointly by the two attendant figures on Basil's head had been represented, but in the finished portrait Elijah presents to him the labarum, the Constantinian standard.<sup>109</sup> Thus the scenes painted at the end are closely connected with the imperial patron of the manuscript.<sup>110</sup> The allusions to Basil and to his victories gained by the help of the Cross, made through these images of Constantine, become even more clear when we recall the mosaic decoration of the Kenourgion, the new palace erected by Basil. On the ceiling of the imperial bed chamber, the Cross, the σταυρὸς νικοποιός, shone in the starlit sky and around it stood the Emperor, the Empress, and their children, their hands raised to God and to the Cross; you could almost hear them exclaiming, adds Constantine Porphyrogenitus in his description, "through this victorious sign all that is good and dear to God has been performed and achieved in the days of our reign."<sup>111</sup>

The addition of the scene of the Discovery of the Cross to those of Constantine's Vision, events which, as mentioned before, are associated in the prayers of the Feast of the Exaltation, may also have another underlying meaning. Just as Constantine is the prototype of Basil, Helena, seated on a richly decorated

<sup>105</sup> A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 32-39 and *passim*.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33 and references to the Book of Ceremonies in note 2. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme byzantin. Dossier archéologique* (Paris, 1957), p. 27 and ff.

<sup>107</sup> A. Grabar, *L'Empereur*, p. 36.

<sup>108</sup> My colleague Cyril Mango has called my attention to the fact that in these miniatures Constantine is bearded, like a mediaeval Byzantine emperor, and that he is also represented with a beard on the ninth-century mosaics in the room above the southwest entrance of Hagia Sophia: P. Underwood, "A Preliminary Report on Some Unpublished Mosaics in Hagia Sophia," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55 (1951), pp. 367-370 and pl. 17.

<sup>109</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pls. xvii-xix.

<sup>110</sup> There were some scenes from the life of Constantine in the Church of the Martyr Polyeuctus built by the Empress Eudocia and decorated by the Princess Juliana. The poem in the Palatine Anthology describes them as follows: "There you may see a marvelous creation of the holy pencils above the center of the porch, the wise Constantine, how escaping from the idols he quenched the impious fury of the heathen and found the light of the Trinity by cleansing his limbs in water." *The Greek Anthology*, Loeb ed. (London-New York, 1927), I, p. 11.

<sup>111</sup> *Vita Basilii*, chap. 89, Bonn ed. (1838), p. 334.

throne and holding the globe, symbol of the imperial power, may be considered the prototype of the Empress Eudocia who shares with her husband the honors of the dedicatory portraits. One may further suppose that this double dedication was one of the reasons for giving a prominent place to Helena in the miniature which illustrates the second oration on Easter, and in which the rock with the grotto of the Invention of the Cross constitutes another link with the scene of this Invention represented in the last miniature.

Some of the other compositions may have imperial undertones in addition to their religious meaning. One of these is the representation of the Second Oecumenical Council (fig. 16), for, as A. Grabar has shown, the iconographic type of the Councils presided over by the emperor, is one of the important themes of imperial imagery, created to mark the part played by the emperors in Church affairs.<sup>112</sup> Another example is the representation of the apostles sent out by Christ and baptizing the people of different nations (fig. 17), for it was also the duty of the emperor as vice-regent of Christ and successor of the apostles, to defend and spread the Christian faith. This role is emphasized in the acclamations of the factions on the feast of Pentecost; "God by His illumination in the shape of tongues, having destroyed the impiety of nations, has undertaken to conquer and destroy through you, valiant emperors, the impiety of nations, so that you may bring those who speak different tongues to speak the one language of faith." Or again, "You have been crowned by the Holy Spirit, emperor of the Romans, and in Him you lead your people to worship, in all truth, the thrice divine majesty."<sup>113</sup> The connection between the mission of the apostles and the duties of the emperor would have occurred to a painter of the ninth century all the more readily as this was a period of great missionary activity, encouraged by the Byzantine emperors; the period of the conversion of the Moravians, Bulgarians, and other Slavs of the Balkan peninsula; the century during which the Russians were converted and missions were sent to the Khazars, and when Basil attempted to force the Jews of the empire to accept the Christian faith.<sup>114</sup>

The representation of the Mission of the Apostles may have suggested, by association, that of the scenes of their martyrdom,<sup>115</sup> for which I was not able to find a textual basis either in the Funeral Oration of Caesarius, in front of which this illustrated folio is now placed, or in the homilies which have lost their pictorial frontispiece and with one of which it may have been originally connected.

<sup>112</sup> A. Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 90-92. *Id.*, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>113</sup> Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. and trans. by A. Vogt (Paris, 1935), I, pp. 54-55.

<sup>114</sup> F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, (Prague, 1933). *Id.*, *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1959). A. Grabar, "L'art religieux et l'empire byzantin à l'époque des Macédoniens," *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Section des sciences religieuses*, 1939-1940, pp. 23-25, calls attention to the fact that the scenes of the Mission of the Apostles begin to appear during this period and that for the first time, among surviving monuments—Paris. gr. 510 being one of the earliest—the representations of the people about to receive the grace of the Holy Spirit are added to the composition of the Pentecost.

<sup>115</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxii.



Imperial connotations in addition to the theological meaning can be seen in the composition of the Anointment of David, added by the painter to the Abraham and Jacob scenes which were mentioned by Gregory in the oration *de Deo* (fig. 4). The epithet "a new David" applied to the Byzantine emperors is a commonplace, but comparisons between David and Basil are particularly numerous. In his description of the mosaic decoration of the Kenourgion, Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes that Basil's sons held books with the following inscription: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ πτωχείας Δαυϊτικῆς ἀνύψωσας τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ ἔχρισας αὐτὸν τῷ χρίσματι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος<sup>116</sup> Basil's sudden rise is compared to that of David in one of the poems written by the patriarch Photius in honor of Basil, in which Basil is made to say, Νεώτερος ὑπῆρχον Ἐν τέκνοις τοῦ πατρός μου<sup>117</sup> an adaptation of David's own words in the first verse of the supplementary Psalm no. 151. The same comparison occurs in an anonymous poem on Basil, again with reminiscences of the wording of this Psalm.<sup>118</sup>

Moses and Joshua are also frequently mentioned as models of the emperors. Eusebius had acclaimed Constantine as a "new Moses" and compared his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge with the Passage of the Red Sea, Moses being the antitype of Constantine, and the Pharaoh that of Maxentius.<sup>119</sup> Joshua triumphing over the enemies of Israel, with God's assistance, is a model of the victorious Christian emperors.<sup>120</sup> These are also the biblical heroes whose triumphs together with scenes from Classical Antiquity decorated the walls of the palace built by Digenis Akritas, and though this is a description in an epic poem, it has been thought that it might reflect the type of secular scenes represented in the imperial palaces. One saw in the palace of Digenis Akritas the fight of David with Goliath, "Moses, his miracles, the plagues of Egypt, Exodus of the Jews, ungrateful murmurs, and God's vexation, and His servant's prayers, Joshua son of Nun, his glorious feats."<sup>121</sup> Among these biblical scenes figured also the exploits of Samson,<sup>122</sup> some of which are represented on one of the illustrated pages of the Gregory manuscript (fig. 14) for which I was not able to find a satisfactory explanation.

In another instance as well, where the relation between image and text is not clear, an explanation may have to be sought in the imperial dedication of the manuscript. As in the case of the martyrdom of the apostles, the illustrated leaf with the representation of Daniel in the Lion's Den, the Three Hebrews in the

<sup>116</sup> *Vita Basilii*, p. 334. Gyula Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1961), p. 69.

<sup>117</sup> PG 102, col. 580 A.

<sup>118</sup> Gyula Moravcsik, "Ἀνώνυμον ἀφιερωτικὸν ποίημα περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Βασιλείου Α'," in *Εἰς Μνήμην Κ. Ι. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), p. 7; see also other examples given on pp. 7-9.

<sup>119</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IX. 9. E. Becker, "Konstantin der Grosse, der 'neue Moses,'" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXI (1910), pp. 161-171. A. Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 95-96, 236-37.

<sup>120</sup> Meyer Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *Gazette des beaux arts*, 35 (1949), pp. 161-176. Although this manuscript belongs to the tenth century, some of the ideas underlying the illustrations were prevalent in the ninth century, which was also a period of great military achievements.

<sup>121</sup> *Digenes Akrites*, Edited with an introduction, translation, and commentary by John Mavrogordato (Oxford, 1956), p. 223, book VIII, vss. 3403-3406.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221, vss. 3371-3378.

Fiery Furnace, the Prayer of Manassah, and Isaiah Prophesying his Recovery to Hezekiah has no apparent connection with the letter to Evagrius which it now accompanies,<sup>123</sup> or with any of the other homilies which no longer have an illustration. These four scenes are obviously taken over from a Psalter,<sup>124</sup> but why did the painter choose these Canticles rather than any of the others? Can it be because, with the exception of the Canticle of Moses, illustrated with the Passage of the Red Sea already represented in the manuscript, these four Canticles are the only ones related, in one way or another, with a royal personage? We see, in antithetical fashion, above, the victims of a cruel ruler and, below, two kings saved through their faith in God. There is also a unifying idea, for the victims, Daniel and the three Hebrews, were also saved through divine intervention.

A palatine scene, with a careful representation of the imperial throne and Theodosius standing in front of it, was substituted, as noted *supra*, for the composition of Gregory delivering his farewell address to the bishops assembled in the council room (fig. 12). Finally, the events from the life of Joseph, which, as previously mentioned, have no apparent connection with the oration delivered by Gregory after his flight and return,<sup>125</sup> have also certain elements of imperial iconography. In his article on "The Joseph Scenes on the Maximianus Throne in Ravenna," Meyer Schapiro has quoted passages from the treatise of Philo on Joseph where "the biblical patriarch is pictured as the ideal ruler," as well as excerpts from the writings of Saint Ambrose and other Latin authors in which Joseph, the antitype of Christ, also appears "as the model of the high civil servant and the bishop."<sup>126</sup> The Greek Church Fathers frequently refer to Joseph as one of the figures of Christ, but I have found no comparison between him and the emperor or the bishops, though it is not impossible that such comparisons may have been made. Some of the scenes depicted in the Paris manuscript are, however, directly connected with Byzantine imperial iconography. The pictorial cycle of Joseph's life<sup>127</sup> begins with his departure from his father's home to visit his brothers, and ends with his appointment as ruler, omitting, however, his imprisonment and all other intervening episodes between the scene with Potiphar's wife and his appointment over the land of Egypt. Pharaoh had put his ring on Joseph's hand, "arrayed him in vestments of fine linen and put a chain about his neck, and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee" (Gen. 41:42-43). The last but one scene shows Joseph, crowned, standing before the enthroned Pharaoh who, instead of putting a chain around Joseph's neck, attaches the chlamys on his shoulder (fig. 18). This gesture agrees with the description of the promotion of a Caesar given in the Book of Ceremonies, when the emperor clothed the Caesar with a chlamys.<sup>128</sup> In the last scene Joseph is seated on a quadriga, dressed as the Byzantine emperors and, like them, he holds the globe in one hand and the

<sup>123</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LVII.

<sup>124</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Illustration in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 149-150.

<sup>125</sup> PG 35, cols. 828-832.

<sup>126</sup> *Gazette des beaux arts*, 40 (1952), pp. 27-38.

<sup>127</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvi.

<sup>128</sup> *Le livre des cérémonies*, II, p. 28.

labarum in the other, while the people are prostrate, in the attitude of the proskynesis. This is the way in which the conquered people making their offerings to the triumphant emperor had been represented on older monuments, and it is in this same attitude that we see the Bulgarians at the feet of Basil II in the Psalter illustrated for him.<sup>129</sup> The iconographic type of Joseph riding in a frontal quadriga goes back to Roman medallions with the image of *Sol invictus*<sup>130</sup> and those which represent imperial *sparsiones*<sup>131</sup> or a *processus*.<sup>132</sup> Several of these were issued by Constantine and his immediate successors, and such gold medallions continued to be in use until the seventh century.<sup>133</sup> In almost all these examples the emperor holds in his left hand a globe bearing a Victory and his right is raised in the gesture of *Sol invictus*; on the obverse he holds a mappa and an eagle-tipped sceptre, while in the miniature of the Paris manuscript Joseph carries the globe and labarum. However, on a gold medallion of Valens which has the usual frontal quadriga on the reverse, the Emperor is represented on the obverse holding the globe and the labarum marked with the monogram of Christ.<sup>134</sup>

The two Joseph scenes are thus closely connected with imperial iconography, whatever may have been the reasons for including the whole cycle. The first composition agrees with the description of the promotion of a Caesar; the second is patterned on the representations of the *processus* which was, at the same time, a triumphal image.<sup>135</sup> In all this group of miniatures which bear some overt or less obvious reference to the patron of the manuscript, the painter has followed the method generally used by Byzantine artists whenever they wanted to allude to the emperor while representing a biblical scene.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 54-57, 86-87, and pl. XXIII. 1. The same attitude is also to be seen in the representations of the adoration of the emperor. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-88, 147-149.

<sup>130</sup> H. P. L'Orange, "Sol Invictus Imperator, Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose," *Symbolae Osloenses*, XIV (1935), pp. 86-114, figs. 4k, 6b. F. Gnechi, *I medaglioni romani* (Milan, 1912), II, pl. 121. 7.

<sup>131</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, "Roman Medallions," *Numismatic Studies*, 5 (New York, 1944), p. 40, pl. III. 1-3, IV. 3. H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354* (Paris, 1953), pp. 156-157, pl. XXXI. 10-11: gold coins.

<sup>132</sup> J. M. C. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-88, pl. XXI. 1, XXXI. 1. H. Stern, *op. cit.*, connects these images with the *pompa* of the games in the hippodrome rather than with the consular *processus*; see the Roman mosaic with Junius Bassus on a biga accompanied by the chiefs of the four factions of the circus, pl. XXXII. 2. Charioteers were represented in the same manner on a frontal quadriga, as we know from textiles and the relief on the base of the statue erected to the famous charioteer Porphyrius; A. A. Vasiliev, "The Monument of Porphyrius in the Hippodrome at Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), pp. 27-49, figs. 1-5. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 157-158, figs. 114-116.

<sup>133</sup> M. C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (1957), pp. 247-261, figs. 5, 7-10. P. Grierson, "The Kyrenia Girdle of Byzantine Medallions and Solidi," *The Numismatic Chronicle*, XV (1955), pp. 55-70, pl. VI. 1.

<sup>134</sup> F. Gnechi, *op. cit.*, pl. 15. 2.

<sup>135</sup> A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des Monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Roemische Abteilung*, 49 (1934), pp. 96-100; Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 86; Gnechi, *op. cit.*, pl. 109. 8. The only known Byzantine wall painting representing the triumphal procession of an emperor follows the "Adventus" type: cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent," *The Art Bulletin*, XXVI (1944), pp. 207-231, fig. 28; A. Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 234-236. The appointment of Joseph is represented in the ninth-century manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela*, Paris. gr. 923, fol. 12: Pharaoh, seated, places the crown on the head of Joseph who stands before him with raised hands. In the Byzantine Octateuchs the Pharaoh presents a ring to Joseph, who is accompanied by his wife Aseneth; in the next scene Joseph is in a biga riding to the left: D. C. Hesselning, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leyden, 1909), pl. 42, fig. 130. Identical scenes in the Octateuchs of the Seraglio (fol. 130<sup>v</sup>) and of the Vatican (MS gr. 746, fol. 125; MS gr. 747, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>136</sup> A. Grabar, *L'empereur*, pp. 95-97.

The illustrations of the Paris manuscript have a dual character: theological and imperial; of the two the first is naturally more marked, given the nature of the text. The events mentioned by Gregory frequently served as a point of departure; to these other scenes and typological images were added in order to convey the principal ideas set forth in the discourses. Out of the thirty-one illustrated folios examined *supra*, a connection with the text can be seen in twenty-three instances. Three more should be added to these: Ezekiel's vision which serves as a kind of pictorial epitome for the entire set of illustrations; the last folio with the images of Constantine and Helena which can be explained by the imperial dedication of the manuscript; the scenes from the life of Gregory substituted for the direct illustration of the Farewell Address, one of which gives great prominence to the emperor Theodosius. There remain, thus, only five illustrated pages without an apparent connection with the accompanying homilies. With regard to four of these, the present composition of the gatherings makes one wonder if they are in their proper places. We can be fairly certain that folio 30 has been displaced and, as mentioned *supra*, this leaf, with the scenes of the Passion and Resurrection, probably accompanied the First Oration On Easter. Someone more familiar than I with Christian exegesis may find for the other four illustrated pages an explanation which escapes me. Already, however, the overwhelming majority of scenes closely connected with the context of the homilies shows, beyond any doubt, that we have a carefully planned illustration, one which does not limit itself to the representation of events that are specifically recalled, but which, by adding other scenes, strives to express the real meaning of these homilies.

This symbolical and interpretive type of illustration sharply differentiates the Paris Gregory from all the other manuscript of the homilies. The difference in approach is particularly striking when one compares our set of miniatures with those of the contemporary codex in Milan, Ambrosianus 49-50, already mentioned in connection with the Funeral Oration of Gregory's father. For instance, in the Theological Orations the painter of the Milan manuscript represented Gregory delivering his sermon and some of the biblical figures or passages recalled in the text<sup>137</sup>. For the Letters to Cledonius, instead of the miracles of Christ which are closely related to the Christological doctrine propounded in these epistles, we see the banal pictures of Gregory sending his letter and Cledonius receiving it.<sup>138</sup> The events of the Old and New Testament, the narrative or mythological scenes occasionally painted close to the passages in which they are mentioned, have not necessarily been selected from among those which best illustrate the principal ideas set forth in the sermons, nor is there any attempt to develop these ideas by means of additional compositions.

The same remarks apply to the manuscripts of later date which comprise a selected list of sixteen homilies, for the most part festal orations and panegyrics. The principal subject of the homily is usually represented in the headpiece and,

<sup>137</sup> A. Grabar, *Les miniatures de Grégoire de Nazianze*, pls. xxxii-xxxvii; the only scene shows Peter in the water and Christ walking towards him, pl. xxxiii. 1.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. lxx.

in several instances, small scenes are painted in the margins or introduced into the text. With rare exceptions, these scenes have a primarily narrative character, depicting what is mentioned in the text, without special regard for the theological context of the homily. Pastoral scenes illustrate the homily on New Sunday and the martyr Mamas, in which Gregory speaks of the beauties and pleasures of Spring.<sup>139</sup> Mythological compositions accompany the homily on the Holy Lights, the Funeral Oration of Basil and the two discourses against Julian the Apostate, and they are dependent, for the most part, on the commentaries by Pseudo-Nonnus, or the allusions to subjects of Classical Antiquity made by Gregory.<sup>140</sup> Scenes from the story of the Maccabees, or the life of Saint Cyprian and Saint Basil are added to each one of these Orations.<sup>141</sup>

The method of illustration adopted for the Paris Gregory is unique among the manuscripts of the homilies, but this same type of approach, of relation between the images and the real meaning of the text, may be seen in another group of contemporary manuscripts, namely the Chludov and related Psalters with marginal miniatures, which were also illustrated in Constantinople.<sup>142</sup> We find in these the same interest in theological speculations, expressed primarily in the typological compositions which illustrate the Psalms by means of episodes from the Gospels. Leaving aside the scenes and single figures which refer to the Iconoclastic controversy, we find similar echoes of contemporary events. It was suggested *supra* that the Mission of the Apostles reflected the idea of the emperor as defender and propagator of the Christian faith, and could be connected with the intense missionary activity of the ninth century; through different iconographic formulae these same ideas are expressed in the Psalters.<sup>143</sup>

Like these Psalters, the Paris Gregory is a "creation" of the ninth century, though not a creation in the sense that a set of new images was invented for it. We have no way of knowing whether or not there existed an earlier illustrated manuscript of the homilies with purely narrative compositions, or the simple representation of Gregory delivering his sermon, a type frequently used in the Milan manuscript. Such compositions occasionally occur in the Paris codex; for instance, in the First Oration on Peace, discussed *supra*, or in the homily *In plagam grandinis*, where we see Gregory speaking to the people in the presence of his father while, above, hail falls on the fields and trees.<sup>144</sup> Some of the events from Gregory's life—the ordination scenes, his conversation with

<sup>139</sup> Paris. gr. 533; Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. civ. 2-3. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, cod. Τάφου 14, fols. 33-34.

<sup>140</sup> K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 12-74, pls. II-XXVII. The text of Pseudo-Nonnus was also known to the scribe of Paris. gr. 510 where numbers written in the margins refer to the paragraphs of this commentary (*ibid.*, p. 87), but even if an illustrated copy of Pseudo-Nonnus had existed in the ninth century, the painter of the Paris Gregory would not have used it, for these scenes are alien to his conception of the types of images appropriate for the homilies.

<sup>141</sup> Paris, Coislin 239; Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. cxvii. 23-25; pl. cxviii. 1-13.

<sup>142</sup> N. Malicky, "Le psautier byzantin à illustrations marginales du type Chludov est-il de provenance monastique?" *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves* (Paris, 1932), II. 1, pp. 235-243. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme*, pp. 196-198. For the group as a whole, see the standard work of J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* (Helsingfors, 1895).

<sup>143</sup> A. Grabar, *L'iconoclisme*, pp. 223-226. *Id.*, *L'art religieux et l'empire byzantin*, pp. 23-27.

<sup>144</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. xxix.

Theodosius, and his departure from Constantinople—may have been taken over from an illustrated copy of his *Vita* by Gregory the Presbyter which had a greater number of scenes than was used in the full-page miniature illustrating his biography at the end of the Paris manuscript.<sup>145</sup> In a few instances we have good reason for supposing that the compositions were devised for the Paris manuscript. The most obvious example is the representation of Gregory and Basil caring for the sick, part of the illustration for the oration on the Love of the Poor (fig. 7), since the tradition that Gregory delivered this homily in the hospital erected by Basil seems to have originated at a fairly late date. One may also suppose that the scenes of the conversion and baptism of Gregory's father were composed by the painter of the Paris manuscript, in view of the way in which he has focused his attention on these two events and has brought out their meaning by adding relevant gospel scenes (fig. 1). However, in the vast majority of cases, especially in the representation of biblical subjects, the painter merely copied from illustrated manuscripts of the Old or New Testament those themes which were best suited for the demonstration of a specific idea, modifying them slightly, when necessary. The disparity in the origin of iconographic types and the stylistic diversities are a sufficient indication of this, even though one must not exclude the possibility that more than one artist may have been at work. What was new was the entire conception of the illustration, a theological exegesis in pictorial form, intended to focus the reader's attention on the main theses of the orations, an exegesis which to some degree showed the influence of contemporary events and which also underlined the role of the basileus, the vice-regent of Christ, successor of the biblical heroes and of Constantine, the first Christian emperor.

The theological erudition, the subtle thought evidenced in the selection of the specific subjects, especially those for which there was no direct textual basis, clearly indicate that this work was guided and supervised by a man of great learning; and one's thoughts naturally turn to Photius, the most learned man of the time. In a recent work, A. Grabar has given cogent arguments in support of the hypothesis that the Psalters with marginal miniatures were illustrated in the entourage of the Patriarch Photius.<sup>146</sup> The evidence is less clear in the case of the Paris Gregory, but the possibility that Photius had some share in the direction of these illustrations, ideologically allied with those of the Psalters, can also be envisaged. Photius, dethroned by Basil after the assassination of Michael III, was later reconciled with the Emperor and returned to the patriarchal throne at the death of Ignatius in 877,<sup>147</sup> that is, shortly before the Paris manuscript was copied and illustrated. If a troparium in honor of Gregory of Nazianzus was actually written by Photius, as it is thought to have been,<sup>148</sup> he held this writer in great esteem and would have been particularly interested in a collection of his homilies. But whether or not Photius had anything to do

<sup>145</sup> Omont, *op. cit.*, pl. LX.

<sup>146</sup> A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme*, pp. 196–198.

<sup>147</sup> F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 173.

<sup>148</sup> Ioannes Sajdak, *Historia critica scholastiarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni* (Cracow, 1914), pp. 257–258.

with the illustrations of the Paris manuscript, the fact remains that it is an outstanding example of the way in which images were used to express religious ideas and to serve the imperial mystique, a type of illustration of the homilies which was never repeated.





1. Fol. 87v. Calling of the Apostles. Conversion of the Father of Gregory of Nazianzus





2. Fol. 264<sup>v</sup>. Moses, Paul, Elijah. Passage of the Red Sea

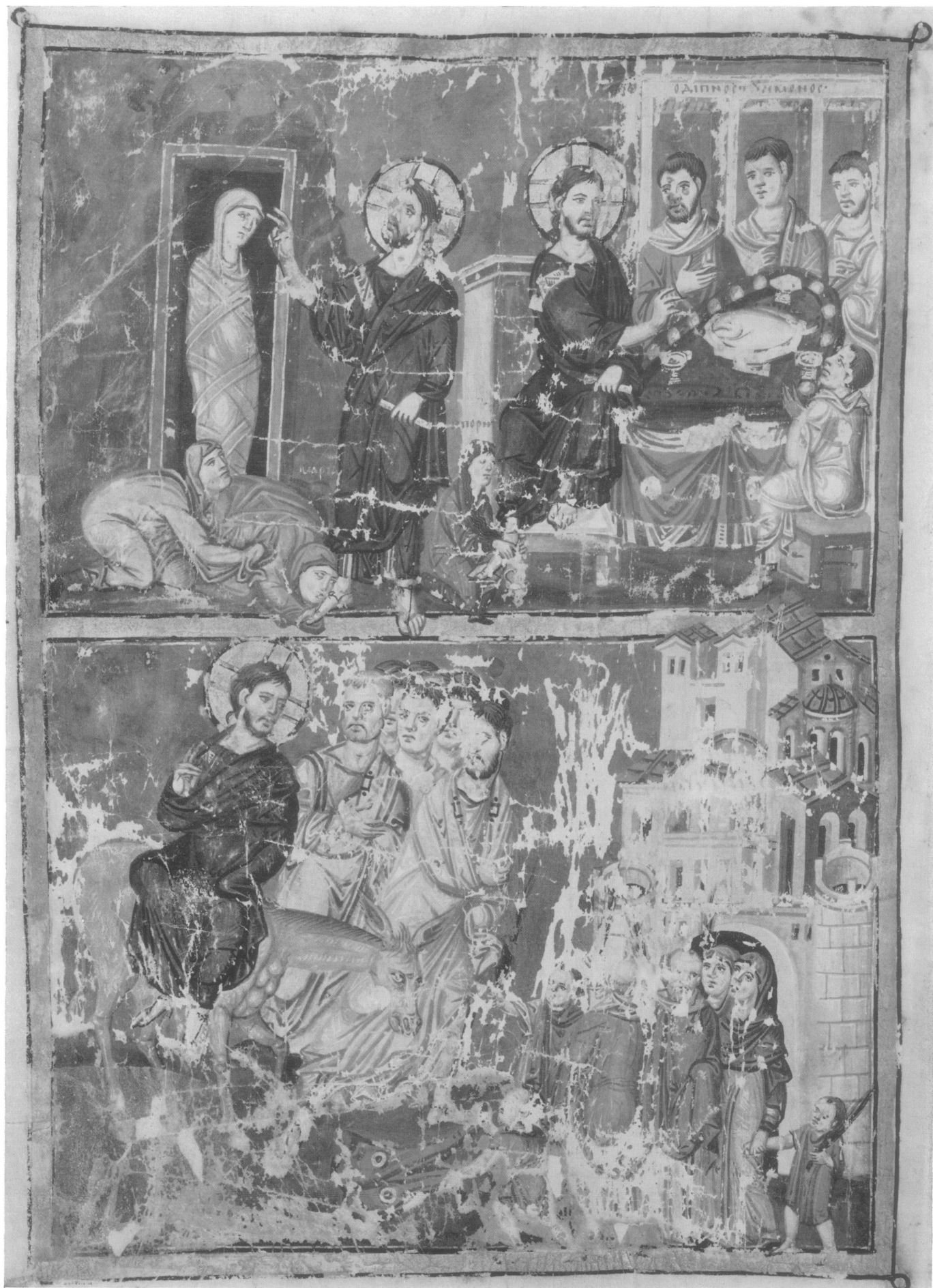


3. Fol. 285. Second Oration on Easter





4. Fol. 174<sup>v</sup>. Sacrifice of Isaac. Jacob's Dream. Anointment of David

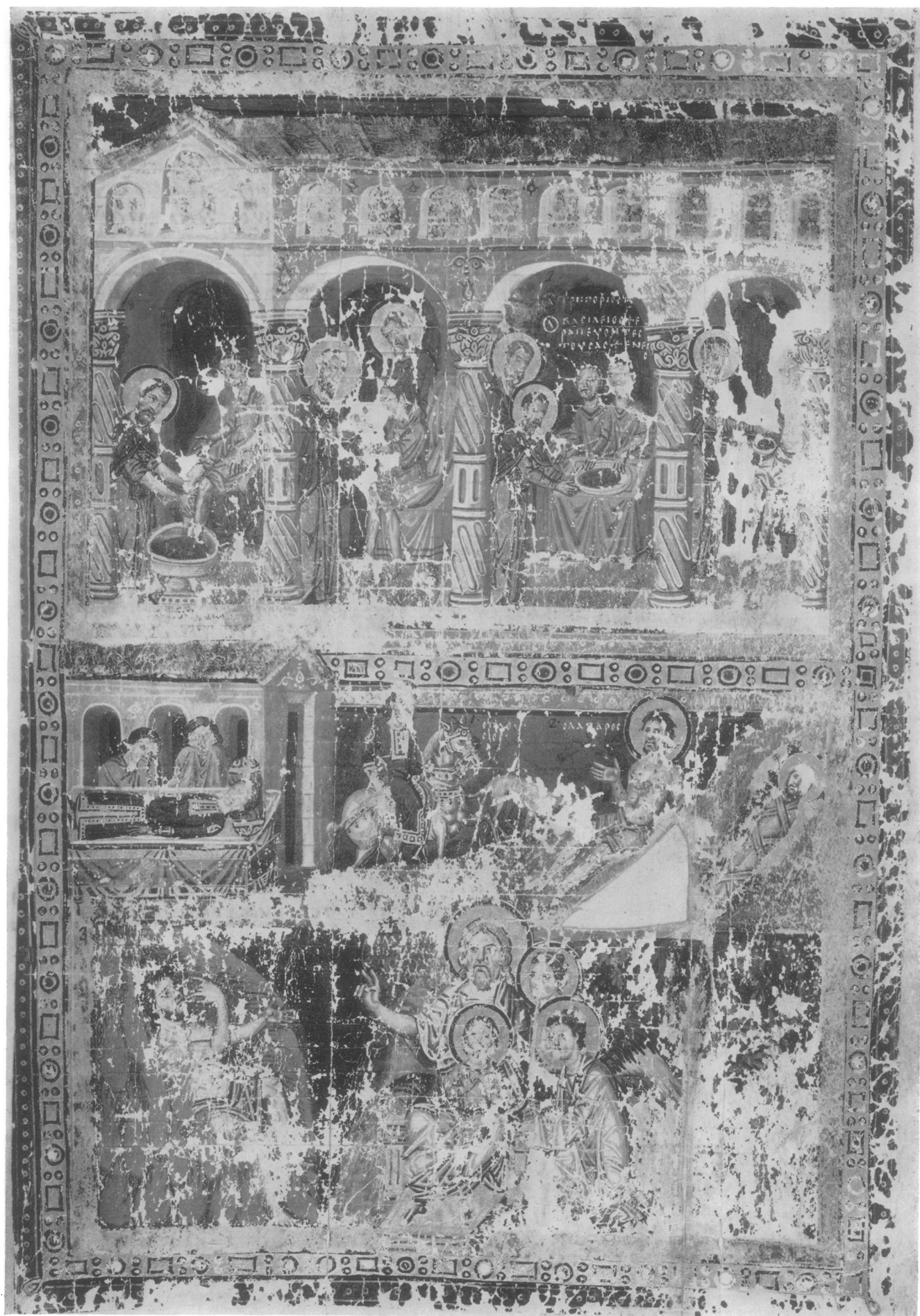


5. Fol. 196. Raising of Lazarus. Christ Anointed. Entry into Jerusalem





6. Fol. 165. Christ Among the Doctors. Temptation. Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes

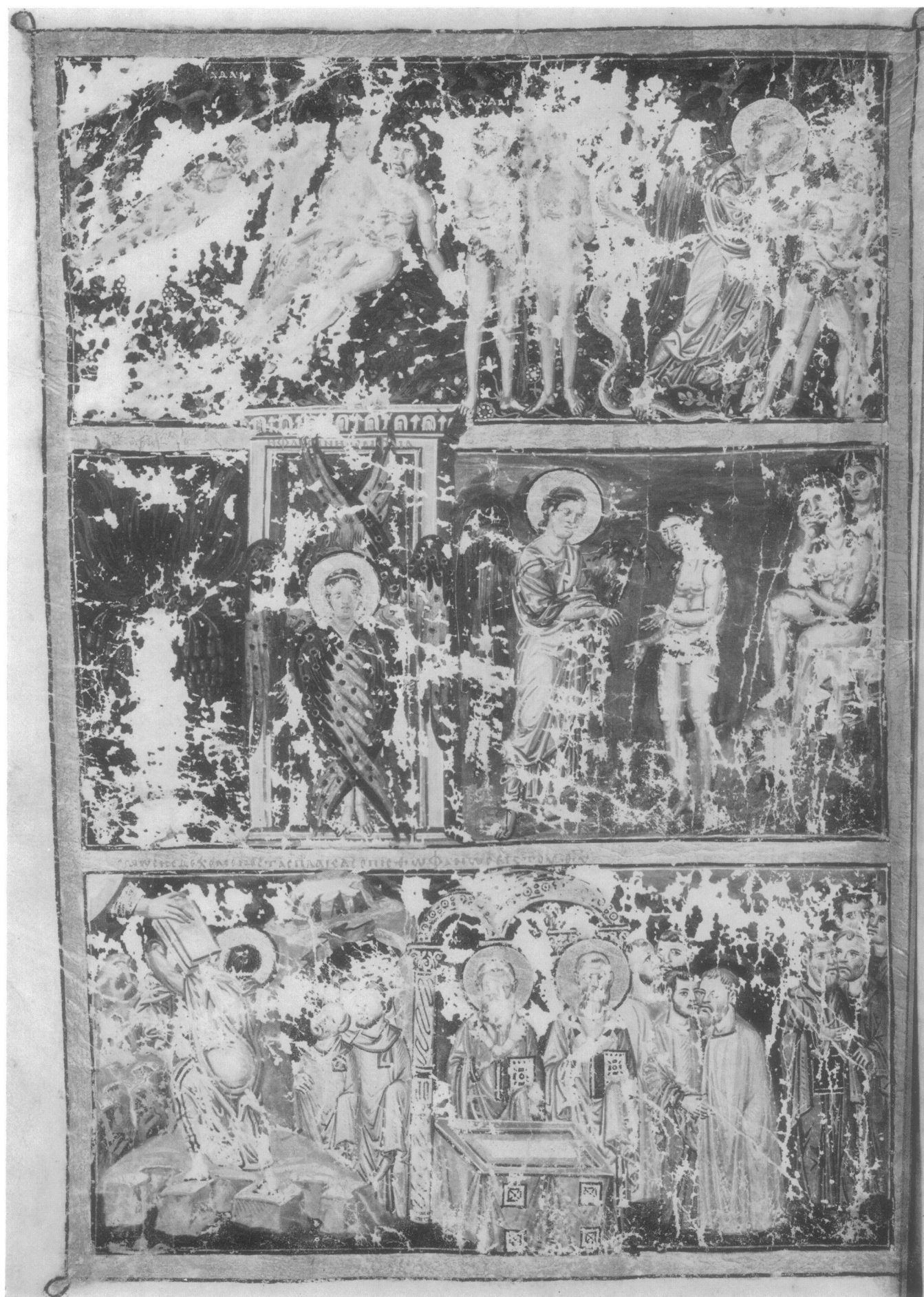


7. Fol. 149. Gregory and Basil Caring for the Sick. Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus



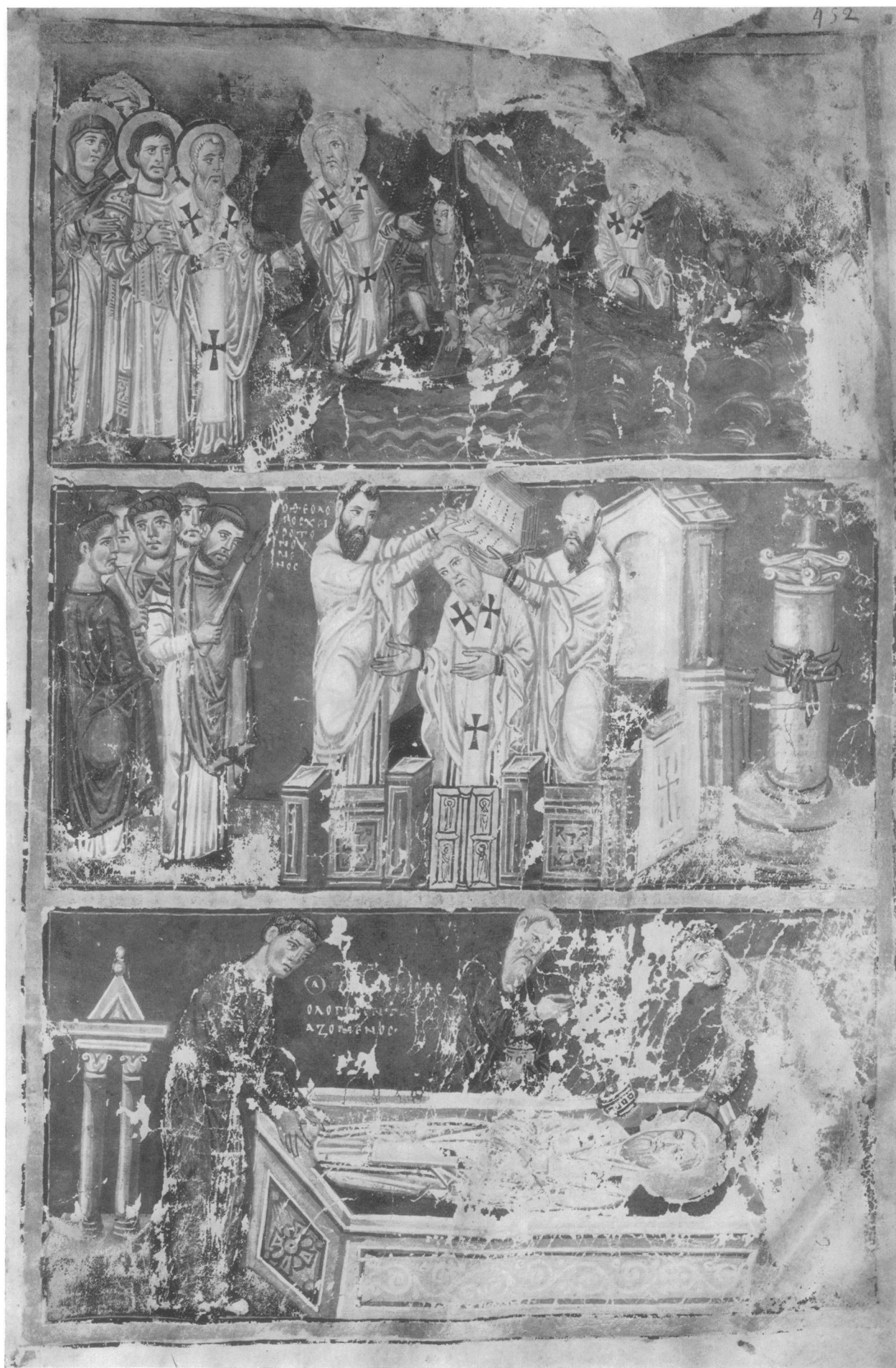


8. Fol. 215<sup>v</sup>. Judgement of Solomon. Christ and the Samaritan Woman. Healing of the Ten Lepers



9. Fol. 25v. Scenes from Genesis. Moses Receiving the Law. Gregory Preaching





10. Fol. 452. Scenes from the Life of Gregory



11. Fol. 424<sup>v</sup>. Destruction of Jericho. Moses Praying. Gregory Writing





12. Fol. 239. Gregory and Theodosius. Gregory Leaving Constantinople



13. Fol. 438v. Vision of Ezekiel



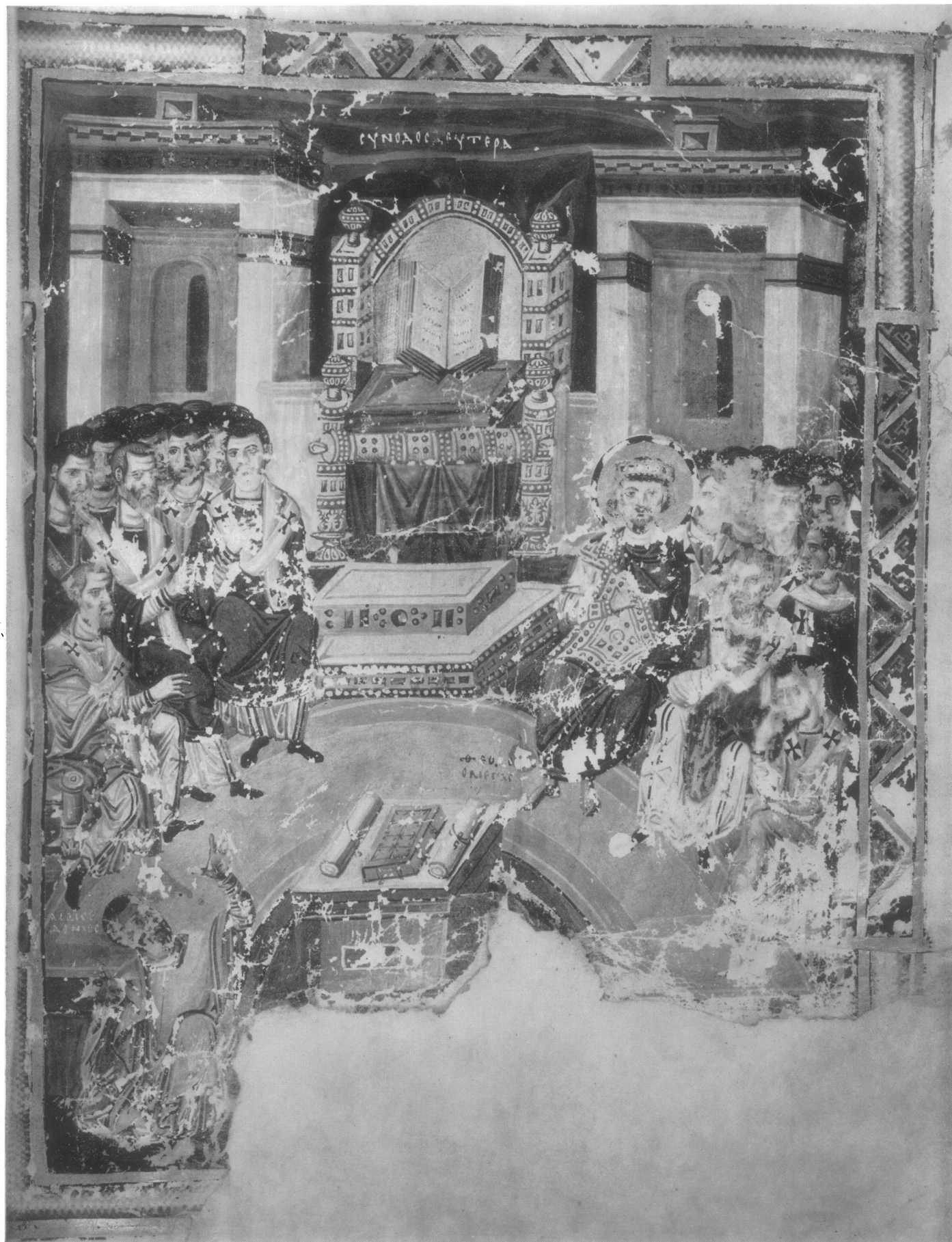


14. Fol. 347v. Scenes from the Life of Samson. Gideon and the Fleece. Martyrdom of Isaiah



15. Fol. 440. Vision of Constantine. Invention of the True Cross



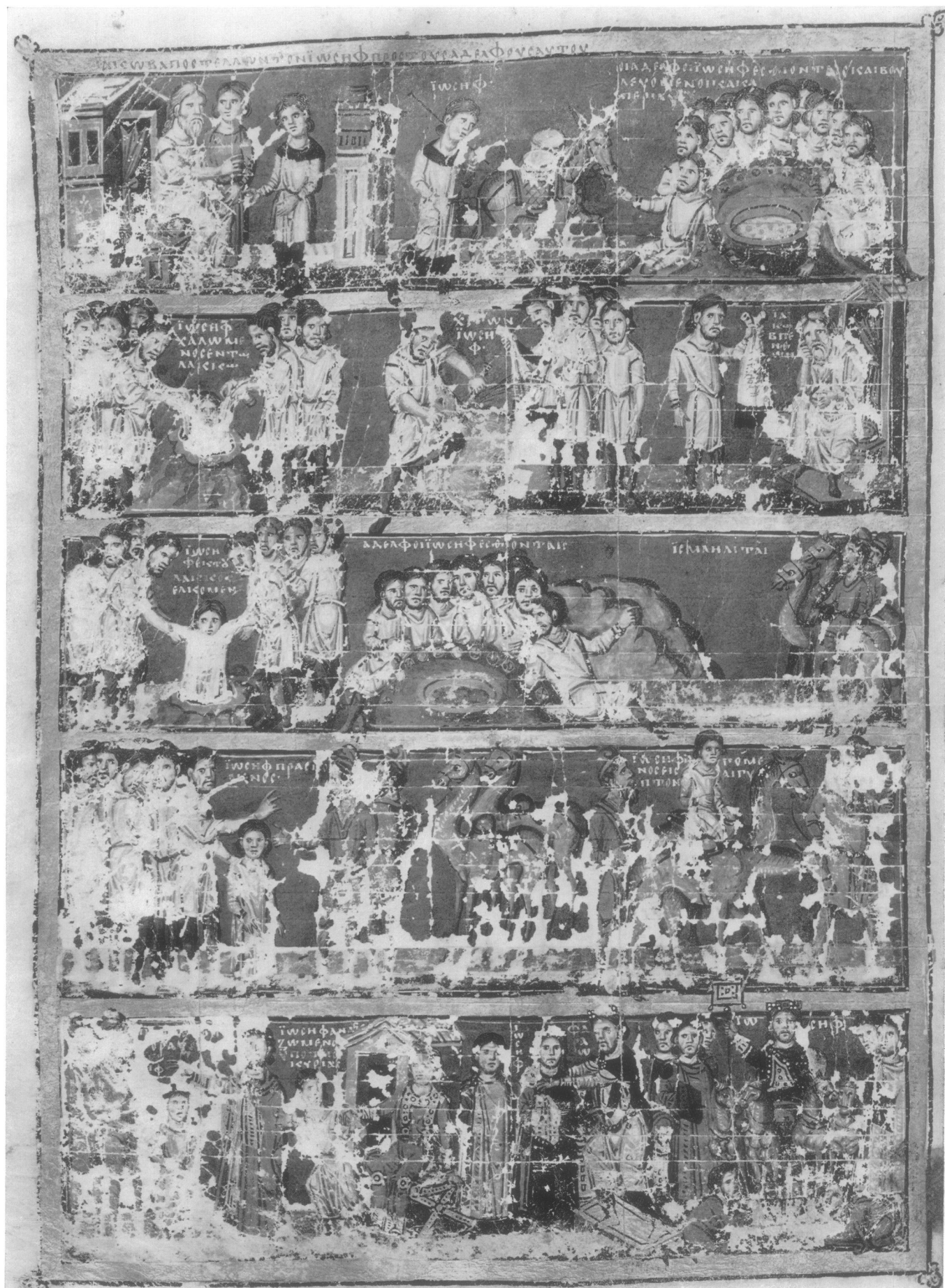


16. Fol. 355. Council of Constantinople



17. Fol. 426v. Mission of the Apostles





18. Fol. 69v. Scenes from the Life of Joseph